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THE INSIDE STORY



Barney Frank, who won a Massachusetts congressional seat, was one of the few liberals to successfully buck the conservative tide.

Reagan may not be the worst of it

By David Moberg

One of the big worries about Ronald Reagan as president among blacks, liberals and civil libertarians has been that he could appoint as many as four very conservative Supreme Court justices whose views would, like Nixon and Ford appointees, haunt the country long after Reagan departs the White House.

But there was always at least this theoretical consolation: Even if the people decided not to "gimme Jimmy," rotten appointments to the Court might still be fought by the Democratic Senate, which would review new justices in the judiciary committee chaired by Sen. Edward Kennedy.

That small consolation is gone. The Senate is now controlled by Republicans, who garnered 12 seats in the election, and ultra-conservative Strom Thurmond, (R-S.C.) is likely to be the new chair of the judiciary committee.

The takeover of the Senate by Republicans for the first time in 26 years—by a margin of 53 to 46 Democrats and one independent—may turn out to be a far more serious consequence of the massive popular disaffection with Carter than Reagan's takeover of the White House. "I don't feel as badly about trading Carter in for Reagan as I do about the Senate," UAW legislative affairs director Steven Schlossberg said. "That's going to be really awful. Maybe some of the things Reagan said in the campaign are evidence of a real conversion. Maybe he'll be a human being. But we're worried to death about the Senate."

The Republican Senate, with the addition of at least eight new ultra-conservative New Right voices, is only part of the problem. Democrats lost 32 seats in the House of Representatives, many of them active liberals like majority whip John Brademas (Ind.), James Corman (Calif.), Peter Kostmayer (Penn.), Lester Wolff (N.Y.) and Bob Eckhardt (Tex.). Beyond even these statistics, however, there is a more significant ideological shift. Many Democrats already vote regularly with Republicans on important issues, and Congress has been turning more conservative in recent years in any case. Democratic victories, even in northern industrial states, did not portend a liberal counterbalance to the right-wing victories. For example, the

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new Democratic Senator from Illinois, Alan Dixon, immediately announced that he would feel right at home in the more conservative Senate and felt that he could get along well with Ronald Reagan.

The New Right push.

The most striking defeats came for four of the six liberals targeted by the National Conservative Political Action Committee—George McGovern (S.D.), John Culver (Ia.), Birch Bayh (Ind.) and Frank Church (Idaho). Each lost in a conservative state where the primary factor in their defeat (except, perhaps, for Culver) was the Reagan landslide. Although the New Right campaigns probably were not decisive, they undoubtedly hurt. Certainly they helped, on their own and through influence within the Republican Party, to move the political debate generally to the right. Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority was another right-wing influence that won in the Senate with the election of former Vietnam War POW Jeremiah Denton in Alabama and John East in North Carolina.

As much as Republicans were carried along on Reagan's coattails, Democrats were dragged down by Carter's dirty linen. Polls taken by the television networks showed at least one-third of Reagan voters were primarily voting out of dislike of Carter's performance, and the most common explanation offered was that "It's time for a change." The decline in voter turnout, which hurt Carter, also reflected a lack of enthusiasm for him even among nominal supporters.

To a great extent, voters were frustrated or even confused by seemingly intractable economic problems and by declining U.S. influence in the world. Liberal government policies, no longer effective in addressing the changed domestic and international situation, were rejected even by many of the traditional elements of the liberal coalition, but it seemed often to be more in favor of a return to a simpler time than in favor of right-wing policies for the economy. Since it is unlikely that Reagan's policies—whether the mainstream Republican conservatism of the now-dominant advisors or the right-wing "populism" of earlier consultants—will solve either domestic or international crises the U.S. faces, Republican hopes for a "political realignment" like the one that followed FDR's victory in 1932 are mostly fantasy. More likely, there will be more flip-flops, as there have been for 20 years.

Carter deeply wounded Democratic congressional candidates, but the fault was not his alone. In New York, left-liberal Elizabeth Holtzman lost narrowly to conservative Republican Alfonse D'Amato in part because Jacob Javits stayed in the race as a liberal. Many of the conservative labor unions stayed with Javits, and Holtzman never made sufficient use of the unions on her side nor played up blue-collar issues enough. Holtzman did relatively poorly in many blue-collar and Catholic areas and ran behind Carter in areas around Rochester and Buffalo while running ahead of Carter in the state.

But there were still some victories for liberals. Of the candidates supported by the National Committee for an Effective Congress (most of them liberals, although many liberals in safe seats were not given support), there were 52 losses and 49 victories. All members of the black caucus won re-election and two new members were added. Barney Frank (Mass.) and Byron Dorgan (N.D.)—both liberals associated with the National Conference for Alternative State and Local Policies—won seats in Congress for the first time. A few liberal-to-moderate Democrats, such as Cranston (Calif.), Hart (Colo.), Bumpers (Ark.) and Eagleton (Mo.), managed to hold on to their Senate seats, and Christo-

pher Dodd defeated conservative James Buckley in Connecticut for Abraham Ribicoff's seat despite a strong Reagan showing in the state.

Take it from Wall Street.

Nevertheless, the new make-up of Congress will guarantee blockage of any major progressive legislation and open the door to actions that will probably redistribute income even faster to the wealthy through tax cuts, undermine protection of the environment and workers' health and safety, impede racial and sexual equality, cut programs for the poor and generally grant corporations freer rein. The first vote of confidence came from Wall Street where, in record trading the day after the election, aerospace and oil stocks led the way in anticipation of more military spending and bigger profits for Big Oil.

"I think it looks fairly dismal now," Frank Cowan of AFSCME said, noting that even friends of labor and liberal causes will probably become more cautious and "think twice" about more spending for social problems or new jobs. "We can forget about any plans to take care of the nation's health, labor law reform or plant movement," Schlossberg said. "What we have to do is keep Congress from getting even meaner and harder than it has been." Ben Albert of the AFL-CIO's COPE thought occupational safety and health would certainly suffer. "We were on the defensive in the last Congress when the numbers were on our side," he said.

The timing and character of much legislation, as well as the subjects of congressional inquiry, will be heavily influenced by the change in Senate committee chairs. Not only will Thurmond head the judiciary committee, but also ultra-rightist Jesse Helms will be chair of the agriculture committee, Jim McClure (a friend of big oil and nuclear energy) of the energy committee, John Tower of armed services, right-winger Jake Garn of banking, housing and urban affairs (replacing William Proxmire), Robert Dole of finance and Orrin Hatch (a leading proponent of right-to-work laws) of labor and human resources.

But in the midst of general gloom, some people saw hope. "I think the left has an opportunity to build," California activist and Alternative Policy Conference leader Derek Shearer said. "When Reagan fails with the economy, then we have the opportunity to join a sweep in four years. I don't think the election was against our populist-left politics but against Carter's wishy-washy conservative Democratic politics. I think if he'd imposed wage-price controls two months ago it would have been a lot closer." Now at least conservative policies will be clearly marked as conservative, instead of appearing in the guise of a presumptive liberal, as they did with Carter.

Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee director Jim Chapin thinks that the Carter debacle means that "for what it's worth, we [meaning the liberal-left wing] probably have the Democratic Party now." In the coming months, leaders of liberal labor unions, citizen action groups and other forces on the left of the Democratic Party will be testing the potential of various organizations and programs to gain party power.

In the meantime, the potential liberal leadership of the Democrats has been dealt a serious blow, not only from the Senate losses but also from the defeat of such potential outside supporters as the young liberal governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas. Chapin sees Kennedy as the natural party leader; in any case, he certainly will be one of the few traditional liberal voices. But traditional liberalism is not likely to lead the Democrats out of the wilderness of their own making. Neither will a born-again rush to the right.

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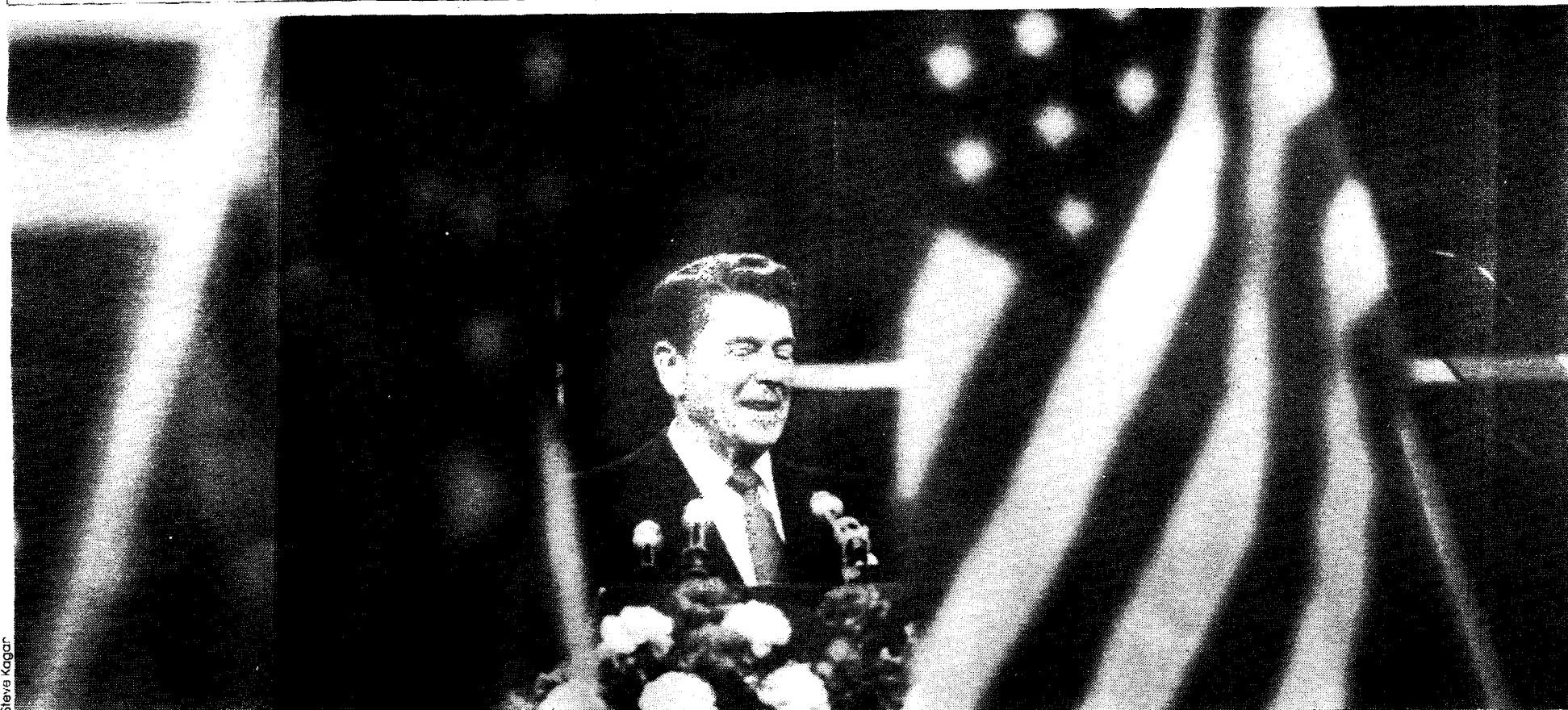
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IN THESE TIMES



It's 'no' to liberalism by a landslide

By John Judis

THE 1980 REPUBLICAN LANDSLIDE was a vote of "no confidence" in an entire generation of Democratic politicians. The results would have been the same—if not worse—if Sen. Edward Kennedy or Secretary of State Edmund Muskie had been the Democratic nominee. The message was unmistakable: liberals of all kinds, from Sen. George McGovern to President Jimmy Carter, *get out*.

The liberalism that voters repudiated had its roots in Harry Truman's 1948 Democratic synthesis, later to be updated by a succession of Democratic presidents and presidential candidates. In this broad form, it spanned both self-styled liberals and moderates, as well as many Republicans, including Richard Nixon.

This liberalism held that through limited state intervention, the federal government could smooth out the business cycle and eliminate the inequities of modern capitalism. It held out to all Americans the promise of a rising standard of living. It conceived of the U.S. as the guardian of world democracy, as the leader of the battle against Communism. And it saw the world's non-communist nations as a vast market place in which a superior American industry could ply its wares, invest its capital, and purchase raw materials at discount prices.

The viability of this liberalism depended on the U.S. being the most powerful nation militarily and economically. It depended upon a peculiar situation in which the U.S. could help a war-torn Europe and Japan rebuild and in which it could gain privileged access to Third World markets as the champion of anti-colonialism. Given these circumstances, the American private economy, with a hefty boost from arms spending, was able to expand with few interruptions from 1948 to 1969, and the American state was able to apply the benefits of this prosperity to finance highways, supermarkets, unemployment compensation and Medicare.

With the American defeat in Vietnam, the Soviet achievement of nuclear parity and the reconstruction of Europe and Japan, the U.S. lost its absolute military and economic superiority. In these new conditions, which saw simultaneous inflation and unemployment, a declining dollar, and continuing rebellions against American power overseas, liberal policies could no longer sustain liberal promises. It was time for a reevaluation.

Liberals had two choices: they could either go beyond liberalism to substantial

state intervention in the economy—wage-price controls, a federal energy corporation and investment planning—and to a more pluralistic, egalitarian view of American relations to the rest of the world, or they could try to maintain liberal promises of world economic and military superiority by reverting to a combination of pre-liberal conservatism—which attempts to encourage economic growth by redistributing income toward the wealthy—and Cold War militarism, which attempts to restore the American hold over the less developed countries.

During the late '70s, the majority of liberal Democrats—Jimmy Carter most prominent among them—refused to choose between the two paths. Instead, they vacillated. Carter tried to use fiscal policy to cut unemployment, beginning with his proposal for tax rebates, but finally had to use a recession rather than wage-price controls to curb inflation. Carter came into office committed to a post-Vietnam pluralistic world, but in the face of Soviet challenges in Africa and then Asia, he was convinced to revert to more traditional Cold War policies. The

results were the worst possible: he created new unemployment without curbing inflation; he increased America's military posture toward the world, without increasing the respect with which the U.S. was treated.

In 1980, Carter and the Democratic liberals paid the price for this unwillingness to break with the past. They were defeated by Ronald Reagan and by Republican conservatives, who promised to fulfill the liberal promises by conservative means. On the basis of these hybrid politics, the Republicans were able to split apart the old Democratic coalition that Carter had temporarily resurrected in 1976.

In 1977, Carter's pollster and chief strategist Pat Caddell had outlined in a memo the strategy for the Carter presidency. According to Caddell, Carter should conduct his office as a "permanent campaign." The main object of that campaign should be "middle-income, white-collar voters" who could be won over by Carter's social liberalism and economic moderation. Carter could assume, Caddell argued, that blue-collar workers and minorities would remain

Democratic for lack of an alternative.

Caddell's memo was an attempt to deal on a purely political level with problems that demanded substantial changes in policy. In effect, Caddell was advising Carter to parlay his inability to stem inflation and unemployment through traditional Democratic means into an appeal to the new middle class, which was becoming the bulk of the electorate as blue-collar workers and minorities vanished into the hole left by the absence of any labor or social-democratic party in the U.S.

In the 1980 election, Caddell's strategy translated into programs designed to appeal to this group, along with an attack on Reagan as a wildman. The strategy failed miserably. Using his mix of liberal promises and conservative programs, Reagan reached around Carter's collapsing Democratic constituency and picked up half of the blue-collar, Catholic, Jewish and trade union votes. These votes, along with his expected Republican vote, provided the winning margin. When Carter lost the South and the Northern middle class, the election became a landslide.

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Small parties hurt by Reaganophobia

Neither the Citizens Party nor the Libertarians—the newest efforts to capitalize on widespread voter discontent with the major party presidential candidates—were able to do as well as their partisans had hoped.

Although the Citizens Party had campaigned for a "5 percent solution"—winning 5 percent of the vote in order to qualify retroactively for federal matching funds—preliminary and incomplete tallies gave candidates Barry Commoner and LaDonna Harris only 221,083 votes or approximately 0.3 percent. The Libertarians report 881,612 votes, or 1.2 percent nationally. (In 1976, by contrast, the Socialist Workers claimed the largest left total, approximately 100,000, and the Libertarians had roughly twice that number.)

As the race between Carter and Reagan narrowed in pre-election polls and fear of Reagan set in, many left voters did as they frequently do: held their noses and voted Democratic. "I've talked to a lot of people who said, 'God, if I'd known what the results were going to be I'd have voted for you,'" Citizens Party political director Bert DeLeeuw said. The Citizens Party did better in some local races where Reaganophobia was not a factor. In Vermont the party's congressional candidate got 12 percent

of the vote and Citizens Party candidates for the University of Illinois trustees, who were also endorsed by the local branch of the Americans for Democratic Action, won as much as 9 percent of the Illinois vote.

DeLeeuw blamed the Citizens Party's late entry into the race for its weak showing, including a failure to draw much support from existing left or populist organizations. Although Commoner believes that the party was well-established through the campaign (it now claims 12,000 dues-paying members), the low vote may precipitate internal squabbles over strategy and leadership.

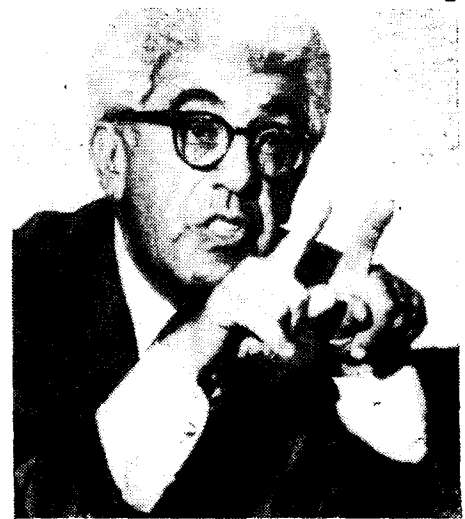
Libertarian Review executive editor Jeff Riggensch blames the Libertarians' poor showing on a lesser-of-two-evils attitude among potential supporters. "I think a lot of foreign policy doves who might have voted for us were motivated to vote for Carter to keep out Reagan, and a lot of people worried about the economy were motivated to vote for Reagan to keep out Carter," Riggensch said.

Riggensch was generally critical of the Libertarian Party's strategy, which, according to him, focused primarily on "well-to-do property owners who support Proposition 13" and "are comfortable with Reagan" rather than on the

"'60s generation" who are primarily concerned with pollution, nuclear energy and weapons, and the ERA and abortion. "If we had focused on them, we might have gotten more votes, and it would have helped us in years to come," Riggensch said.

All told, however, the Libertarians did not do that badly. They got 12 percent of the vote in Alaska and elected a second state legislator there. They received 2 percent in California and throughout the West and elected a mayor in Bakersfield, Calif.

—John Judis and David Moberg



THE LAW

Courts rap mothers' lifestyles

By Kendra Reinshagen

CHICAGO

THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT OF the late 19th and early 20th centuries was best known for its efforts to give women the vote. But that movement also fought for the reform of divorce laws that allowed divorce *only* on grounds of adultery and barred women from gaining custody of their children even if they could obtain a divorce. Divorce reforms, like the vote, were eventually won, but two recent Illinois court decisions have sent out a message that women had better not feel too complacent about the progress made by early feminists.

On Oct. 20, the U.S. Supreme Court let stand a decision of the Illinois Supreme Court that deprived Mrs. Jacqueline Jarrett of custody of her children, simply because her boyfriend lived with her. And on the same day, a Chicago judge granted custody to the father because the mother was working. Judge Charles Grupp ruled that a woman is "entitled to pursue a career of her own"

but felt that this pursuit conflicted with her ability to provide a "stable environment" for her children. The judge saw no conflict in awarding custody to the father, who also worked full time.

The first case, *Jarrett v. Jarrett*, has already met with criticism in the legal community. Determinations of custody are traditionally done on a case-by-case basis, weighing and examining many factors. No one factor is automatically given more weight than another—the single, all-purpose criterion being the "best interests of the child."

Once custody has been granted, under Illinois' new Marriage and Dissolution of Marriage Act, the award can be changed if the child's "present environment endangers seriously his (sic) physical, mental or emotional health" and if it can be demonstrated that the likely harm of changing that environment is outweighed by the advantages. But in a 1979 case, the Illinois Appellate court ruled, under the Act, that "allegedly immoral conduct, in and of itself, without showing of detriment to the children, is insufficient proof of unfitness..."

These factors apparently were not

considered in the *Jarrett* decision. Mrs. Jarrett already had custody of her children when she told her ex-husband that her boyfriend planned to move in; the husband quickly sued for custody. Without any evidence that Mrs. Jarrett's living arrangement had caused or would cause harm to her three daughters, the court decided that any conduct in violation of an Illinois statute (in this case, the state laws against cohabitation or intercourse with a nonspouse in an "open and notorious" manner) automatically endangered the children's moral development.

The ways in which such a ruling might be extended are frightening to contemplate. If the state can take a woman's children away at the father's request because her behavior is "statutorily contravened," could it do the same on a petition brought by the Department of Children and Family Services? And is the violation of *any* law, regardless of its effects on children or the home environment, grounds enough to lose custody?

The effects of the second case may be even more far-reaching. When Mr. Peter Milovich filed for divorce against his



Jacqueline Jarrett with her boyfriend, Wayne Hammon

wife, both parents sued for custody of their two children. After listening to some 20 hours of testimony, including a private hearing with the children, Judge Charles Grupp awarded custody to the father. And the reason he gave was that he felt Mrs. Milovich's pursuit of her career interfered with her ability to provide a stable environment for the children. But almost immediately, in response to criticism, he issued a memo (which the press received even before the attorneys did) claiming that other factors had also influenced his decision. The judge stated that Mrs. Milovich used corporal punishment on the children while the father used "verbal chastisement"—despite testimony that the father also used corporal punishment.

Judge Grupp also cited testimony by a psychiatrist the couple had consulted that Mrs. Milovich was "impatient with her daughter" and "wanted to be less of a mother and more of a career woman." Grupp did not mention in his memo that the consultations took place five years ago, or that the psychiatrist recommended that Mrs. Milovich work in order to improve her self-image and, consequently, her relationship with her daughter. It was on the basis of that advice that Mrs. Milovich began working as a substitute teacher and later, when her marriage began to break up, as a sales representative. It was the sales job that Judge Grupp originally objected to because, he said, it took the mother out of town while the father's job didn't. But Mrs. Milovich's attorney, Robert Karton—who plans to appeal the ruling—stated that as of mid-September, Mrs. Milovich is no longer required to travel for long periods of time. He also noted that Mr. Milovich frequently works until 7:00 or 10:00 p.m.

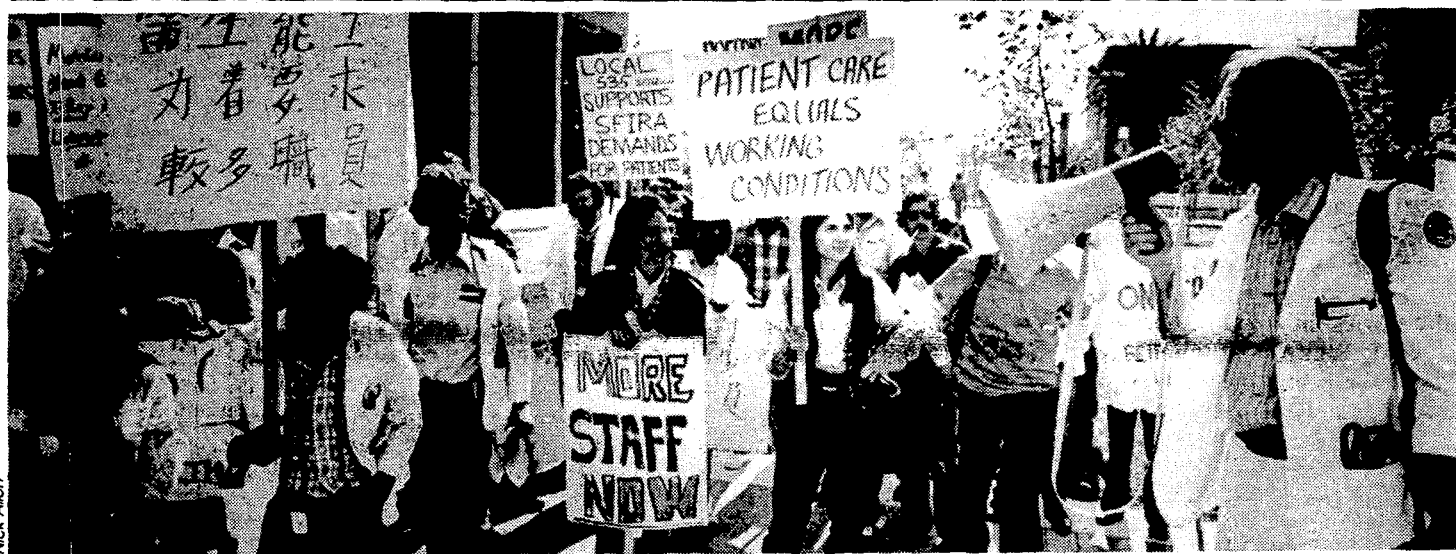
What do these decisions mean for women contemplating divorce or already divorced and involved in another serious relationship? "When I saw that decision, I thought of the days of the *Scarlet Letter*," said Charlotte Adelman, a Chicago divorce attorney. "I'm advising my clients not to let their boyfriends stay overnight." One woman who has been divorced for seven years reports that her ex-husband threatened to stop paying child support if she continued to see her boyfriend—and to sue for custody if she took him to court for non-support.

The Milovich ruling, if not reversed by a higher court, will have an even more restrictive impact than *Jarrett*. Judge Grupp's determination that Mr. Milovich's pursuit of his career did not interfere with his ability to provide the children with a stable environment, while Mrs. Milovich's did, raises the questions, when does a job become a "career" and is it all right to have a job but not to pursue a career? "At this point," Adelman said, "it's difficult to know what advice to give my clients on this issue."

For a woman contemplating divorce, getting a job may be the first step, since her ability to support herself and her children is a primary consideration in the

Continued on facing page

HEALTH CARE



Striking interns and residents rally in front of San Francisco General Hospital

Bay Area doctors win staffing fight

By Mike Pincus

SAN FRANCISCO

INTERNS AND RESIDENTS AT SAN Francisco General Hospital ended a four-day strike Oct. 25 by winning the strongest house staff contract yet negotiated with a city government. The San Francisco Interns and Residents Association (SFIRA) won an increase in non-physician hospital staffing, a job description limiting out-of-title work, amnesty and input into hospital staffing decisions for SFIRA and for the Service Employees International Union Joint Council, whose locals represent most workers at the hospital. The victory marked a major advance for the informal alliance of labor and community groups that has been developing around fiscal policy since the passage of Proposition 13 in 1978.

The SFIRA victory follows two years of organizing around public health and budget issues in San Francisco. Frequently focusing on the hospital, this activity helped SFIRA and other unions overcome divisions within the hospital's highly stratified workforce. Successful actions against hiring freezes for hospital nurses and lab techs laid the basis for a city-wide healthcare coalition to fight cutbacks in city mental health and other public health services.

Cutbacks and political compromise alleviated most of the city's projected \$127 million deficit for fiscal year 1980-81. Labor and community forces initially supported higher taxes and fees on downtown business interests to a tune of

\$150 million. But the Board of Supervisors rejected the labor program in favor of Mayor Dianne Feinstein's revenue package, which included higher bus fares, new state revenues, hikes in parking taxes and fines, and a Chamber of Commerce demand for continued attrition in the city workforce. The mayor conceded modest increases in business taxes as part of the plan.

Labor and its allies were forced to back the mayor's package as the only alternative to fiscal disaster and some 3,000 to 4,000 layoffs threatened by city hall. Although most of the revenue package was enacted through June ballot measures, a deficit of about \$20 million remained. The mayor's subsequent budget proposal abolished 1,318 jobs—through layoffs, vacancies and attrition—from a city workforce of 21,000.

By October, hospital staffing had been reduced to about 1,800 positions (from 2,000 two years earlier). This adversely affected patient care and working conditions in the sole health provider for San Francisco's multilingual, multiracial indigent population.

In attempting to negotiate its first house staff contract in San Francisco, SFIRA asked for adequate numbers of translators, nurses and medical records, radiology, security and transport personnel. Contract negotiations began in March. The Department of Public Health (DPH) and hospital administration at first refused to negotiate over "management prerogatives" or "operational issues." SFIRA took its case to the public and forced the city to sign a declaration of intent to negotiate after house staff

threatened a strike in June.

Four months later, faced with continued stonewalling, the interns and residents broke off negotiations. On Oct. 16, SFIRA unanimously rejected the DPH's offer and committed about half of the house staff to a strike. Picket lines went up around the hospital Oct. 21.

Threats of firing by the city and of academic reprisals from the University of California only built sympathy and strengthened the strikers' resolve. Formal endorsement of the strike came from a large SEIU general membership meeting. Hospital workers wore blue arm-bands to demonstrate support, joined picket lines on breaks and discussed their own work actions to intensify the pressure. Ambulance drivers offered a statement of support. The AFL-CIO Central Labor Council endorsed the strike on the second day, and the Teamsters considered strike sanctions.

Other city workers, intimidated by the no-strike clause in the city's 1976 charter amendments, backed the strike not only on the jobs issue, but also because the strike action itself could set a precedent for them. As public support became more evident, DPH came back to the bargaining table with a more conciliatory stance.

The final contract provides a sustained increase in the hospital workforce, with 70 employees to be added within 90 days, and ongoing joint monitoring of staffing levels and input into staffing decisions by SFIRA and the SEIU Joint Council. ■ Mike Pincus is a member of the San Francisco Health Care Coalition and received help with this article from other members of the group.

LABOR

Union reform movement gets together

By Kim Moody

DETROIT

BILLY CHADWICK IS A "TRAMP"—an itinerant construction electrician. He was expelled from his union, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, by a local he was never a member of, for insisting on his rights. He traveled from Kingston, Tenn., to Detroit in mid-October to attend the First National Conference on Union Democracy. He was joined by about 300 other people who share his concern for rank-and-file democracy and union reform.

Sponsored by the Association for Union Democracy (AUD), the conference was the first of its kind. About half the people there were active trade union reformers from heavily blue-collar unions, while the rest were lawyers, educators and other professionals eager to help. There have been national and international meetings of rank-and-file reformers in the Teamsters, the autoworkers, the miners, and a few other unions in recent years, but this was the first attempt to pull together reformers from a cross-section of the entire American and Canadian labor movements.

It was a success. AUD executive director Herman Benson told *In These Times*, "We thought at first that if we had 75 good people it would be at least worthwhile, and we hoped for 125." The final turnout of more than 300, said AUD president Gordon Haskell, was "beyond our wildest dreams."

One element of this success is Herman Benson himself. Since the early '60s—when much of the "old left" could be found in the comfortable employ of the labor hierarchy and the "New Left" suspected the entire labor movement was bought off—Benson has been putting out an informative newsletter called *Union Democracy in Action* during the '60s and *Union Democracy Review* for the last decade.

But Benson is more than a journalist. Beginning with his early efforts to assist painters' union reformer Frank Shonfield, Benson has always been quick to jump in with advice, legal aid, and whatever resources can be rounded up for rank-and-filers who dare to step out. AUD, the organization that Benson established with Gordon Haskell 10 years ago, has been active in a number of campaigns such as Ed Sadlowski's 1977 bid for president of the steelworkers' union.

The conference also benefited from a new generation of radicalized professionals—most notably the dozens of young lawyers, many of whom still look uncomfortable in a coat and tie. In contrast to some of the more traditional civil liberties and labor attorneys such as Joseph Rauh, the younger lawyers were quick to argue that union activists should



Labor lawyer Chip Yablonski is the son of UMW insurgent Jock Yablonski, who was murdered during a bitter fight to oust mineworkers president Tony Boyle.

not put their faith in lawyers, government agencies or the courts.

But what ultimately made the conference were the unionists who came to Detroit from all over North America and the stories they had to tell.

Chris White is a tunnel blaster on the Alaska pipeline who ran for office in Local 942 of the Laborers International Union and lost badly. After that defeat, White and his supporters set about building a stronger opposition organization. Now they have a group called ROOR (for "ruled out of order") that includes militants from the carpenters, the electricians and the Teamsters as well. And in their own local—which has over \$3 million in assets and its own jet—the reform group recently won a court decision that requires a rank-and-file referendum on any dues increase.

Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) organizer Ken Paff reported that the reform movement among Teamsters continues to grow despite intimidation and violence. When he first attended a meeting of union dissidents in Reading, Calif., he told the conference, it was held in secret in a hotel room with the blind down and three of the ten participants standing nervously at the door. A bomb blast that same night seemed to justify the precautions. But now hundreds of peo-

ple openly attend meetings in Reading.

Workers whose unions do not have organized reform movements like TDU took the opportunity of the conference to get together formally and informally. Autoworkers met over lunch. Steelworkers gathered in the halls to swap stories. IBEW members held a lengthy caucus.

The movement for union reform does not sport many well known names, but the few there are were present: lawyers Joe Rauh and Chip Yablonski, unionists Ed Sadlowski, Jim Balanoff (current director of Steelworkers District 31) and Pete Camarata of TDU.

Differences of opinion surfaced in the course of the weekend about just what union reform is and how to get it. Monsignor George Higgins, the chair of the UAW's Public Review Board, counseled the AUD not to support specific candidates like Sadlowski, but instead to concentrate on winning due process. But many participants apparently felt that union reform involves much more than the fight for democratic procedures. The official AUD view is that the fight for social justice on the shopfloor—much like the campaigns for minority and women's rights—implies a pervasive challenge to the status quo. TDU activists, for example, stressed the need for ongoing rank-and-file organizing not

only to enforce union democracy but also to keep elected representatives honest and to respond to employer aggression if the union will not. They urged that future conferences spend more time on organizing and political skills—as well as legal rights.

There was also a certain tension at the conference over just how democratic some unions are. Herman Benson in his opening remarks and Victor Reuther in his dinner address both suggested that while the UAW is not without its problems, it is a genuinely democratic union. Several UAW members took heated exception to that. As Pete Kelley, a leader of the Independent Skilled Trades Council in the UAW, remarked, "I can honestly say that the UAW is the most progressive and democratic union in the American labor movement. Having said that, we had better evaluate the whole American labor movement."

Other UAW members were more strident in their denunciation of the UAW's Public Review Board, which AUD sometimes holds up as a model institution. And in the closing evaluation session of the conference, a member of UAW Local 51 pleaded that the concerns and struggles of UAW reformers not be overlooked by the AUD.

Kim Moody writes for *Labor Notes*.

Custody

Continued from facing page

decision to leave. Now the need to work may add weight to the threat of losing the children that is often held out by husbands who do not want their wives to leave.

At one time the law enforced traditional family roles by denying women educational opportunities or access to occupations, credit and—if married—their own earnings and property. As changes in the laws were won, ridicule and appeals to "sacred duty" applied the necessary pressure. As these methods become less effective, we are now confronted with an even more powerful form of persuasion: the threat of losing our children. ■

Kendra Reinshagen is an attorney who has been active in the women's movement.

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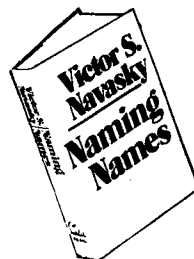
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JAMAICA

Time runs out for Michael Manley

By Michael Moffitt

WASHINGTON

THE STUNNING ELECTORAL DEFEAT of Michael Manley's ruling Peoples National Party (PNP) ended a bloody nine-month campaign in Jamaica. The loss shocked no one more than the PNP leaders themselves. Following a 57-to-43 percent landslide victory in the 1976 election, Manley's party lost by almost as great a margin this time to Edward Seaga's Jamaica Labor Party (JLP). The PNP lost 51 out of 60 seats in parliament, including those of finance minister Hugh Small and foreign minister P.J. Patterson. Among the PNP leadership, only Manley, general secretary G.P. Duncan, Dudley Thompson and Tony Spalding retained their seats. The PNP believes that election fraud accounted for some of the more startling vote totals, but not enough to have changed the results.

"We are in a state of shock," said one high-ranking government official. "We had entertained the possibility that the PNP could lose the election, but no one, not even the JLP, anticipated such a massive swing."

The election results seem to vindicate U.S. press predictions over the past year that Manley was finished. According to one familiar line of reasoning, Jamaican voters—tired of the hardships they suffered under Manley—endorsed a return to free enterprise and a pro-Western foreign policy to revive Jamaica's sagging economy.

In reality, the story is a good deal more complicated. No doubt Jamaica's severe economic crises played a big role in Manley's defeat. Living standards in Jamaica have deteriorated seriously since 1977. Whereas in its first term the Manley government implemented a variety of policies to improve the living standards of the majority of the population, this was virtually impossible after Jamaica entered into a loan agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1977. Thirty-six new public welfare programs were introduced between 1972 and 1976. Only three were introduced between 1977 and 1980, and none of these after 1977. For most of his second term, Manley was in the unenviable position

of administering the reduction in living standards mandated by the IMF.

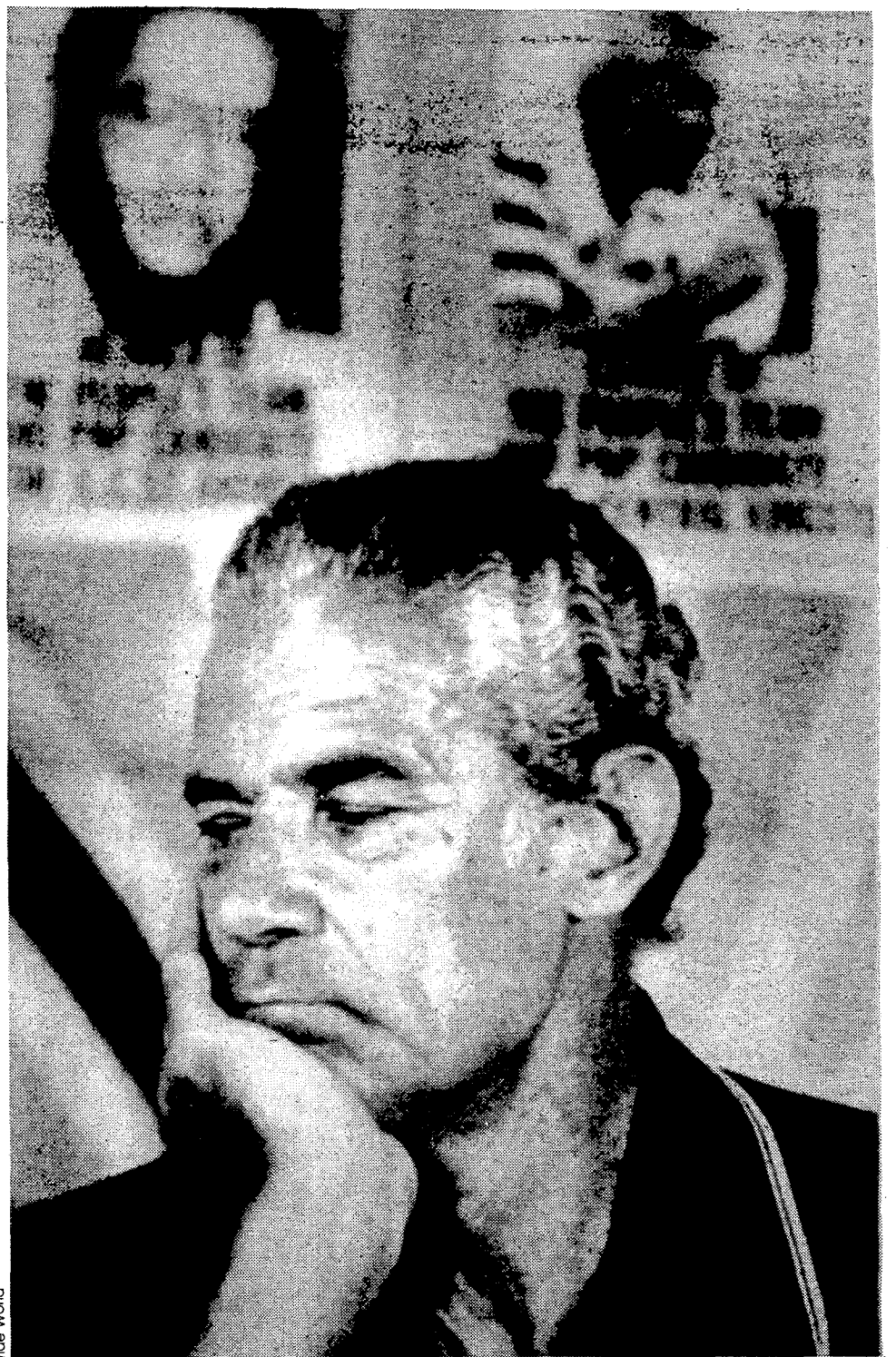
When Manley rejected the IMF's public spending cuts in late 1979, it was already common knowledge in Washington that Manley would have to call an election sometime in 1980. So the Fund's negotiating position hardened. Short of an OPEC bailout, the Fund knew that Manley would be forced to call an election before Jamaica's foreign exchange crisis could produce massive shortages, further alienating voters. Jamaica's private foreign creditors also refused to renegotiate old loans or grant new money until after an election.

In retrospect, it is reasonable to believe that if Manley had stood firm against the Fund's demands in 1977—when his political popularity was at its peak—the population would have backed him. Jamaicans have repeatedly expressed their contempt for the Fund through public opinion polls. But by mid-1980 they apparently did not understand or accept the PNP's explanation of why it waited so long to confront the Fund.

Jamaica's economic crisis also sapped what remained of the PNP's middle-class support, which had been crucial in the '76 vote. Shortages, economic stagnation and the prospect of even greater sacrifices in the future turned the middle class decisively against the Manley government.

What the economic crisis failed to accomplish, the opposition's campaign of terror and subversion did. A constant assault on the government led by the *Daily Gleaner*, and encouraged by Washington, fostered a climate of fear and desperation that even the PNP's superior grass-roots organization could not overcome.

The rampant violence that claimed hundreds of lives in recent months was probably the decisive factor. The JLP knew that Manley had the most to lose from a state of chaos, and that's exactly what they set out to create. In 1976 Manley had restored order by declaring a state of emergency and throwing the trouble-makers in jail. This time he faced the threat of possible intervention or even a coup if he clamped down hard. And, in any case, open demonstrations of disloyalty by the security forces made Manley wonder if they would defend the government in an emergency.



By the time Manley broke with the IMF, he had squandered his credibility with many hard-pressed Jamaicans.

In the rural areas, where the JLP won big, news of the violence in Kingston was especially damaging to the PNP. The *Gleaner*, which is frequently the only source of news outside Kingston, worked to convince people that the violence was the result of the PNP's attempt to take over the country using Cuban arms.

Large numbers of the voters apparently felt that the violence would continue and possibly get worse if Manley stayed in office. Seaga's pre-election statement that he "could not account" for the action of his followers if he lost was obviously intended to create precisely that impression.

Seaga is hardly the "cool technocrat" portrayed in the American press. Even

Manley's opponents concede that Seaga's reputation as violent and ruthless is justified. When Seaga was minister of finance under a JLP government, a huge arsenal of arms was discovered underneath the ministry. And his famous 1965 comment that he would answer "blood for blood and fire for fire" reverberated in the ears of Jamaicans as an old age home burned to the ground and automatic weapons cut down Jamaicans night after night.

In the end, it's probably accurate to say that Manley lost the election because he played by the rules, while Seaga did not.

Michael Moffitt works at the Institute for Policy Studies.

Republican sweep

Continued from page 3

Reagan's 1980 strategy—and the success of Republicans in the North—must be credited to Rep. Jack Kemp and Reagan advisor Richard Whalen. Kemp, who has maintained support in a working-class Buffalo congressional district, and Whalen, who is the author of a biography of Joseph Kennedy, shared an admiration for John Kennedy's administration and style. They convinced Reagan to eschew a Sunbelt strategy in favor of a Kennedyesque assault on the North, built around the slogan of "We're going to get America back to work again." (Kennedy's slogan was "We're going to get America moving again.") Reagan appealed directly to Northern blue-collar workers with his supply-side economics, his assault on the liberal state, and his willingness, where necessary, to jettison past anti-labor positions on Right-to-Work laws, aid to Chrysler, the Bacon-Davis law, OSHA and the use of anti-trust laws against unions. ... championed Kemp's proposal for "enterprise zones" in impoverished districts of central cities—a program that compares favorably with anything Carter offered residents of the South Bronx or the West Side of Cleveland.

And most important, Reagan opposed Carter's unmistakable pessimism about stagflation, the American military posture, and the energy crisis with a "can-do" small-town optimism. ("I do believe," Reagan said in the debate, "that this nation has been portrayed for too long to the people as being energy poor when it is energy rich.") Reagan remade the liberal promises—and he did it in a way that convinced voters.

Reagan was aided in his election drive by some special circumstances. The press was unusually kind to him, perhaps because of its hatred of Carter. There were few attempts to show up Reagan's persistent "flip-flops" on issues. His New Right supporters were treated as cranks, but their affiliations to anti-Semitic, racist currents in American politics was largely ignored, except by the Carter forces, who in turn were portrayed as running a "negative campaign." And no concerted effort was made to pry behind the smokescreen of slogans that hid Reagan's economic and foreign policies. And of course Reagan himself, who is no Barry Goldwater ("extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice"), consistently parried attempts to put him in the right-wing corner.

Reagan also got some boost from independent John Anderson, who probably was instrumental in helping Reagan win Massachusetts, Wisconsin, New York and Connecticut. But even assuming that all of Anderson's vote would have gone to Carter, Carter would have picked up only 131 more electoral votes had Anderson not run.

Finally, Reagan was aided by the overall turnout, which declined again to 52 percent of the electorate. From initial surveys, it appears that the non-voters this year were again concentrated among blacks, Hispanics, blue-collar workers and the young—in short, those voters who might still have voted for the Democrats. In New York, which Carter lost by 150,000 votes and Elizabeth Holtzman lost by still less, turnout was estimated to be down 500,000 from 1976.

Among leading Democrats, one dominant explanation of Carter's defeat could be called the "Kennedy theory." It holds that if Carter had stayed closer to party liberals he might have been re-elected. "We have to look at the fact that this was not a party effort," AFSCME official Frank Cowan said. "This was a campaign of a president who tried to embrace the party with rhetorical flourishes. The president and his advisors made a tragic mistake at the convention. They had the opportunity to embrace a program that was very meaningful to blue-collar workers. But they didn't do so."

The "Kennedy theory" of Carter's defeat holds that the president would have done better if he had stayed closer to party liberals.

There is some evidence that Carter might have won some more blue-collar support had he supported an economic stimulus package, but Kennedy's inability to win primary support for these kind of policies among a majority of Democrats, let alone Independents and Republicans, suggests that the problem was deeper than this. As political scientist Walter Dean Burnham suggested in *Discontent* last spring, the absence of any socialist or social-democratic tradition in American politics means that American voters simply oscillate between the tenets of laissez-faire and liberal capitalism.

Continued on page 16

ITALY

FIAT workers break ranks

This is the first of two articles on labor relations at FIAT.

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

WITH RAGE AND ANGUISH, cheers and crocodile tears, the historic fact has been trumpeted forth: The Italian working class has suffered an epoch-making defeat. The five week strike at the FIAT auto plants in Turin has ended with the workers, the unions and the left deeply divided and in unprecedented disarray.

Yet like the battle of Waterloo in Stendhal's novel, the meaning of the recent conflict at FIAT blurs as one approaches the center. Some of the supposedly vanquished combatants seem to think they won. And the event was sufficiently complicated that different vantage points give rise to different versions.

Some basic facts: After a drastic sales drop last spring, FIAT announced that it would have to cut back production and fire 15,000 auto workers. At the end of a long, confused dispute, a complicated agreement was signed on Oct. 15. Nobody was fired. Instead, some 24,000 workers were laid off. They will continue to receive 93 percent of their wages from a government fund for as much as 33 months.

"The important thing about the agreement is that Italy continues to be the only country where people can't be fired," Piero Fassino, in charge of Italian Communist Party (PCI) factory relations in Turin, told me. "You who are American, now tell me, at Chrysler are people fired? Yes. At FIAT, nobody is fired. Is that a defeat?"

But the defeat in question was not so much in the agreement that concluded the FIAT conflict as in the dangerous cleavages that appeared within the working class, auguring much worse things to come.

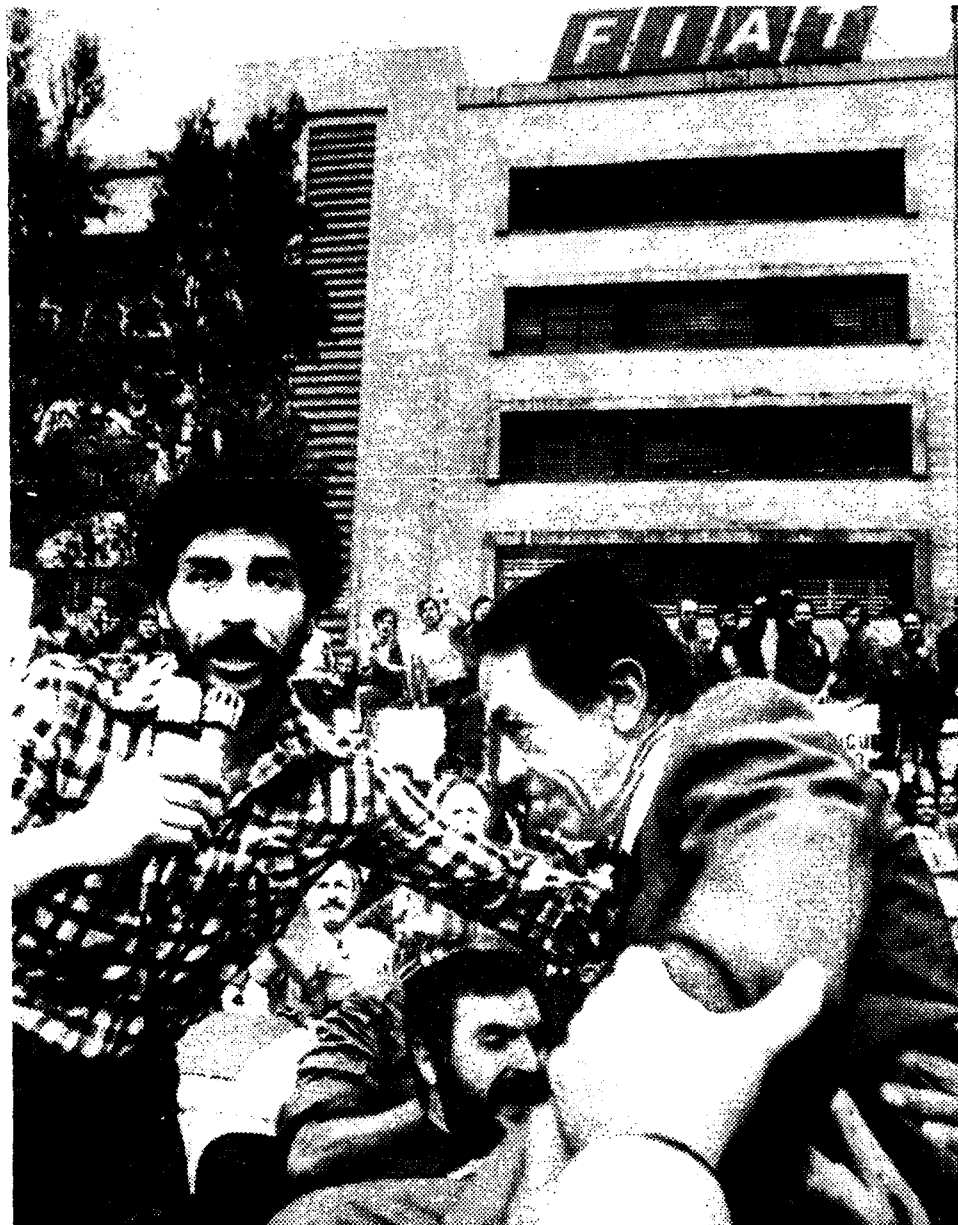
Last July, FIAT's hereditary ruler, Gianni Agnelli, announced that FIAT's European sales had plummeted 25 percent and that the company would have to cut back its labor force by 24,000, firing 14,000 and laying off the rest. The Metal Workers Federation (FLM), which unites metal workers affiliated to all three labor confederations, the CGIL, CISL and UIL, of course said no. FIAT management took an unusually tough stand, rejecting government mediation plans. Turin's revolutionary vanguard workers naturally took up the challenge.

On Sept. 10, FIAT workers went out on strike with rather heady slogans comparing Turin with Gdansk. But from the start, there were signs that enthusiasm for a long hard strike was very unevenly shared, and some of the most experienced labor leaders warned Turin militants to go cautiously into a dangerous test of strength with a management that seemed to welcome a showdown.

As FIAT goes...

To Italy, FIAT is more than General Motors, Ford and Chrysler rolled into one. It is the nation's number one private industry, its main multinational corporation and its mythical guarantee of membership in the modern technological world. So it has an impact when Agnelli publicly laments that he is being driven out of the car business by unruly Italian workers and diligent Japanese competitors. Any number of onlookers at the class struggle who cheered on the workers in times of prosperity have begun to think that maybe those people in the factories better stop fooling around or we'll all go down the drain. That shift of attitude has showed up in the changed tone of much press coverage of recent labor troubles.

FIAT's problems have hoarded Italian headlines for months. This summer's labor dispute was with news of interna-



Enrico Berlinguer is lifted to the podium where he pledged support to FIAT strikers. He later modified that position.

tional auto industry restructuring. Suspense built up over whether the government would approve an agreement enabling the Japanese company Nissan to salvage FIAT's small domestic competitor, Alfa Romeo. Agnelli fiercely opposed the deal as a sneaky way to flood the Common Market with Japanese cars. On Sept. 15, FIAT signed an agreement with the French manufacturer Peugeot for joint production of a motor for "the economical car of the future." On Sept. 20, Prime Minister Francesco Cossiga gave his o.k. to the Alfa Romeo-Nissan deal after his own cabinet split on the issue. All this highly publicized but mysterious international consolidation sharpened the contrast between management's power to shape the future and labor's defensive attachment to its traditional struggles without the means to project a plausible economic future.

Political surprises added to the confusion. Since the breakdown of the "historic compromise" shoved the Italian Communist Party into lonely opposition, PCI leader Enrico Berlinguer has been trying to restore his party's frayed ties to the working masses. On Sept. 26, Berlinguer went to Turin and told the workers outside the FIAT gates that the PCI would support their fight to save jobs even if it meant occupying the factories. The notoriously cautious Berlinguer was suddenly portrayed as a firebrand. The next day, the Cossiga government fell.

The PCI had been calling for a new government and seemed satisfied at Cossiga's unexpected fall. But it was a complete mystery as to who, in the parties supporting the government, cast the secret ballots depriving Cossiga of his parliamentary majority. Did Agnelli use his influence to punish Cossiga for approving the hated Alfa Romeo-Nissan deal? An hour after Cossiga fell, Agnelli rescinded the firings, temporarily cooling the Turin situation.

Italian Socialist Party (PSI) leader Bettino Craxi used the interval to throw the left minority all the way out of his party's leadership, enlarge his right-wing minority, and move the PSI a giant step

to the right by creating a "lay alliance" with the Social Democratic Party (PSDI), Italy's most pro-American party, which has made anti-communism its main *raison d'être*. This put out of its misery the moribund hope of the left that the PSI might form a coalition with the PCI, or perhaps use its presence in the government to give new life to the "historic compromise." On the contrary, Craxi's alliance was the first step toward bringing the PSDI into the new government of Arnaldo Forlani. The Forlani coalition of Christian Democrats, Socialists, Republicans and Social Democrats is a reversion to the standard center-left coalition consecrating the PCI's exclusion from government.

A disturbing model.

As the Christian Democrats groped for a new government, the FIAT conflict resumed. Agnelli agreed not to fire anybody, but he laid off 23,884 workers, and declared a "state of emergency" in the industry to make them eligible to receive 93 percent of their salaries out of a special unemployment compensation fund (called the *cassa integrazione*) totally financed by the state. In short, FIAT solved its personnel problem by dumping nearly 23,000 people onto the public welfare payroll.

Turin's Communist mayor, Diego Novelli, observed that "the *cassa integrazione* is never a good thing. First of all, there are people not working, which is not positive, and then because it's an incentive to clandestine work." (Every-

Women workers protest paid layoffs.



one knows that many officially unemployed workers end up doing undeclared "black labor" for low but untaxed wages.) Paid layoffs divide the working class. Moreover, as a model—and FIAT tends to be a model—the solution would be ruinous to the public treasury.

The massive layoffs affected two categories of workers particularly reluctant to be sent home: women and activists. Women—a majority of those laid off because they were most recently hired—protested vigorously against this blow to their recently acquired equal right to work. Workers laid off also included 282 Factory Council delegates. This figure was not out of proportion, but those who know the scene insist that a particularly high proportion of the most militant and politically committed delegates and activists were laid off. These people took a leading role in demanding an all-out strike to insure jobs for everyone and a rotation of any production cuts among the entire work force.

Despite Berlinguer's earlier words of encouragement to the strikers, the PCI began to have second thoughts. The paid layoffs had created a dangerously contradictory situation. Italian unions have no strike funds, and when Italian workers go on strike, they simply forfeit their pay. For that reason, Italian labor usually brings pressure on management through partial, phased strikes—a few hours at a time at selected points of production—rather than pulling out the whole labor force at once and shutting down the plants until they get what they want.

Yet this time, contrary to Italian tradition, it was just such an all-out strike ("American style," said its detractors; "Polish style," said its defenders) that was voted by workers at assemblies dominated by the most radical orators. The union local, which had totally lost control of the situation, simply gave its support to the course adopted at the assemblies.

But the layoffs had introduced a split, because the people laid off were drawing 93 percent of their normal wages, while everybody else was getting nothing. This meant that some of the most militant picketers were getting paid while employees they barred from the factories were not. While strong rhetoric prevailed at assemblies, the lukewarm were growing restive. A number of politically sensitive labor people began to feel a sense of impending doom they were helpless to forestall.

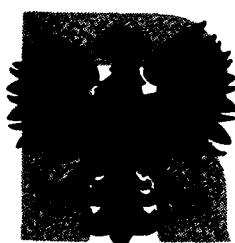
The "40,000."

Doomsday arrived in Turin on Oct. 14, the 33rd day of the strike. Into the breach between labor and management marched 12,000, 15,000, 20,000, no, 40,000 (the figure 40,000, inflated or not, was the one finally immortalized by the media) faithful FIAT employees demanding that the pickets get out of the way and let them go back to work. The demonstrators were mostly foremen, but still...

That night, in a panic, union leaders worked into the wee hours to conclude whatever agreement they could get from FIAT management. The apparition of "the 40,000" raised the specter of an open and perhaps violent split in the ranks of the working class. At 3 a.m. Oct. 15, an agreement was signed accepting the 23,884 layoffs, but with complicated conditions amounting to a compromise. The layoffs of 8,000 assembly-line workers are to be rotated on a monthly basis. As for the rest, FIAT is committed to try to find them comparable jobs elsewhere or take them back if they are still jobless by June 30, 1983—by which time FIAT hopes for an industry upturn.

But a large minority of strikers complained bitterly of a sell-out. Pierre Car-

Continued on page 16



RECENT UPHEAVALS in Poland have almost disappeared from the American media, but events in the coming months will be decisive in forging the future course of that nation. The system established in Poland after World War II retained its central features following workers' revolts in 1956, 1970 and 1976. Now it appears irreparable. Agricultural production is drastically inefficient; the industry is chaotic and wasteful; stores are empty and the lines are long. Only a few die-hards in Poland believe that the country can survive without fundamental reforms.

But reforms—whether of agricultural policies, management systems, incentive systems, accounting conventions, local administration, or central planning—have been as frequent in Poland as projects to combat unemployment in the U.S. And the consequences are also the same: nothing changes. This time, however, the crisis is political. Workers' resistance, lingering since 1970 and 1976, has accelerated during recent years.

Perhaps the resistance might have subsided if conditions of work and daily life had improved after the events of June 1976. But now economic improvement will not suffice. This summer's movement destroyed the relations of political forces under which the Polish society has lived since 1948. Emerging as an autonomous political force in a country where power has been concentrated in one center for 30 years, where politics has been reduced to administration and where every conflict has been treated as a threat to the system, the Gdansk workers have broken the dam. Their victory gave impetus to a sudden, massive rebirth of the civil society.

The Polish summer.

On July 1, the government announced that prices of meat sold in ordinary stores were to be increased by 20 percent and those of meats in the so-called "commercial" establishments—normally 50 to 100 percent higher—by 14.2 percent.

Meat price increases in December 1970 led to a series of riots, most notably in the Baltic port of Gdansk, which toppled then First Secretary of the Polish United Workers (Communist) Party, Wladyslaw Gomulka. When Edward Gierek became the First Secretary, he promised that the prices of basic staples, including meat, would not be increased for five years. During these years wages were increasing rapidly (58.6 percent between 1970 and 1975), but meat production increased only slightly and meat became increasingly scarce. Moreover, in order to persuade private peasants (80 percent of land is privately owned in Poland) to produce for the market, the government in 1972 abolished compulsory deliveries of meat and

other agricultural products, increased the prices at which the state bought these products from the peasants, lowered the rate of taxation on land, and increased the import of feeds. The result was that the meat was being sold to consumers at increasingly subsidized prices. To correct this situation, another attempt to increase meat prices was made in June 1976, followed by an instantaneous popular explosion. This time the government quickly withdrew, and since 1976 it has been pursuing a more flexible policy of gradual and often hidden price increases. Not until July 1 of this year were meat prices raised again by an administrative decree.

This time strikes broke out sporadically, but there were no riots. The tractor factory near Warsaw at Ursus, an important center of the 1976 events, and a large transport factory in Mielec were the first to move. Strikes, varying in duration, scope and demands, kept erupting all over the country throughout July, most notably a four-day strike of municipal transport and railroad workers in Lublin, which was highly visible. Workers there made the first demands concerning unions: They called for a new, secret and free election to the union local.

The government seems consistently to have yielded to the strikers' demands. In Lublin, Vice Prime Minister Jagielski made his first appearance as a negotiator and granted all demands, including free union elections. But benefits were limited to those workers who struck. In a synthetic textiles factory at Bierun Stary, 170 striking workers received wage increases of 20 percent and the remaining 1,830 workers did not. Striking Warsaw transport workers received an increase of 1.50 *zloty* per hour, non-strikers 1.10 *zloty*.

On Aug. 14, the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk struck. Gdansk was where workers marched against the local party committee in December 1970, and where police opened fire on marchers, killing between 42 and 75 persons. Most important, it was Gdansk that gave legitimacy to the then newly elected First Secretary Gierek. After he promised not to increase prices and swore that he would never order police to shoot at workers, he obtained a pledge of *pomozemy*, "we will help." This *pomozemy*, along with the personal popularity in his old power base, Silesia, where he was the regional party secretary until 1970, gave Gierek his considerable popular support.

Although rumors had circulated earlier about work stoppages in parts of the immense Lenin Shipyard, the immediate impetus for the Aug. 14 strike was the firing of Anna Walentynowicz, a 60-year-old crane operator, a member of the strike committees in 1970 and 1976 and a leader of the fledgling independent trade union movement.

The strikers demanded rehiring of Walentynowicz and two other workers fired for union activities, including Lech Walesa, a wage increase of 2,000 *zl.* per



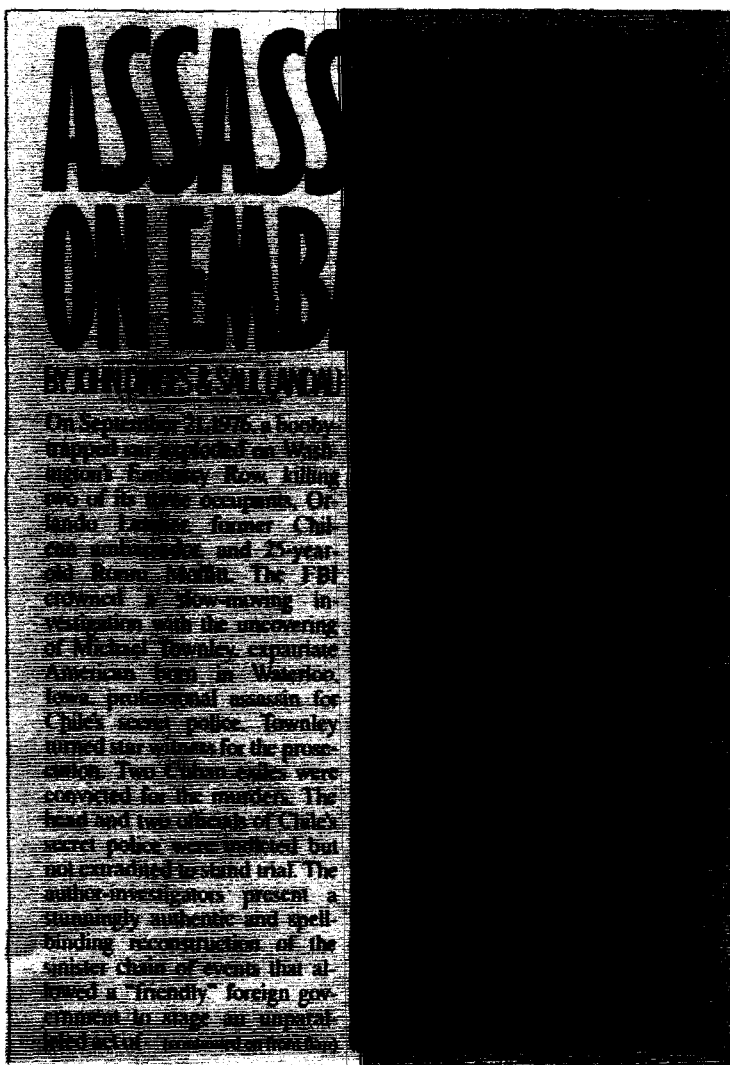
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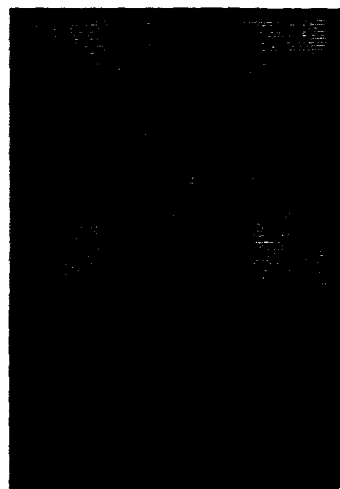
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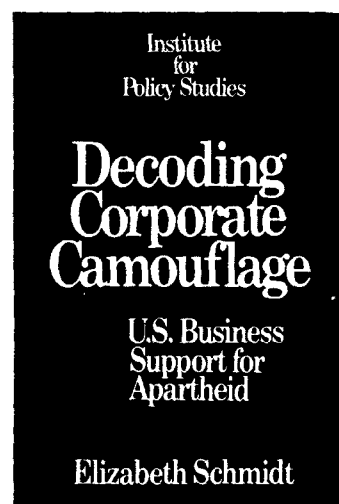
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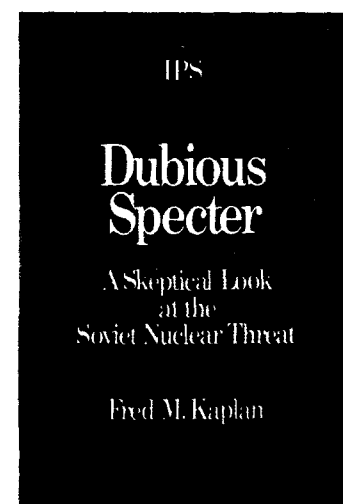
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Elizabeth Schmidt. (1980) 127 pp, paper, ISBN 0-89758-022-2, \$4.95. Foreword by Congressman Ron Dellums.

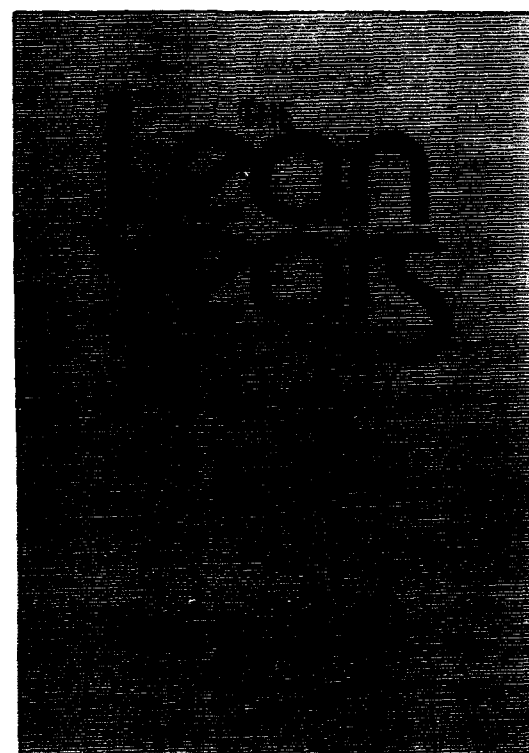
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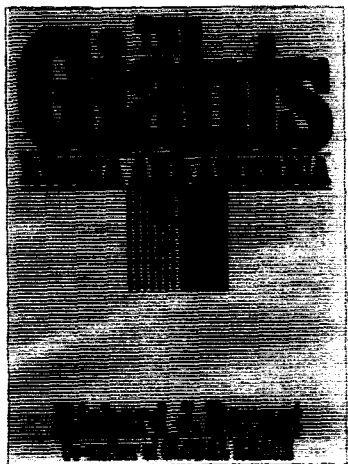


THE COUNTERFORCE SYNDROME: A Guide to U.S. Nuclear Weapons and Strategic Doctrine

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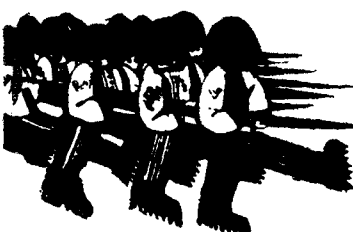
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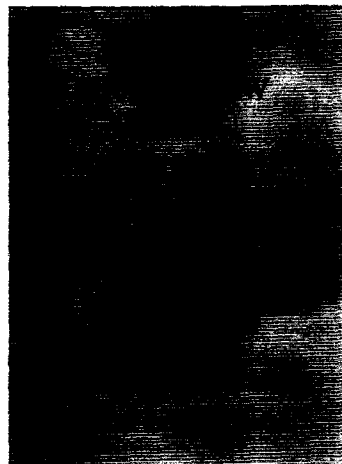


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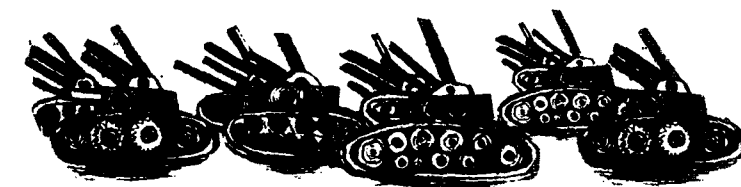
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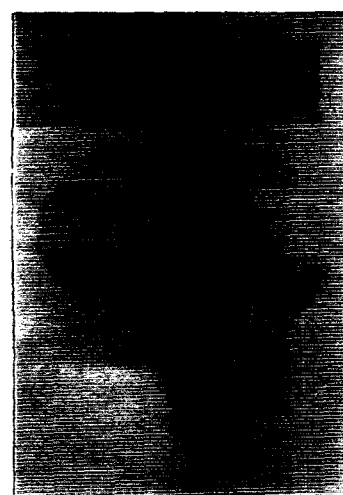
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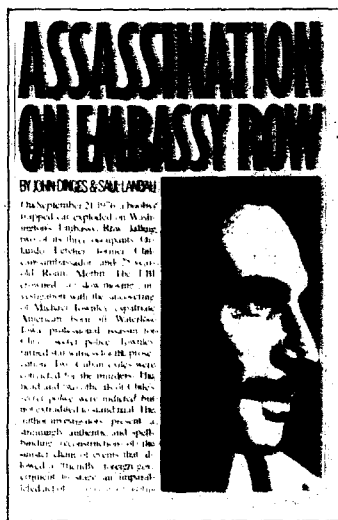
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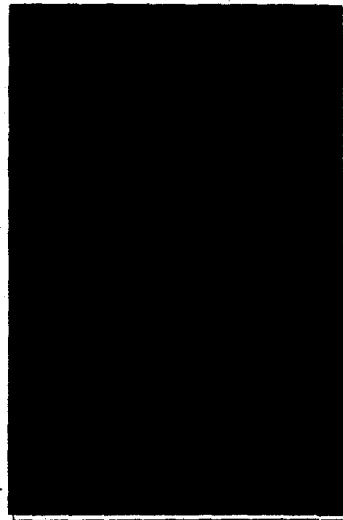


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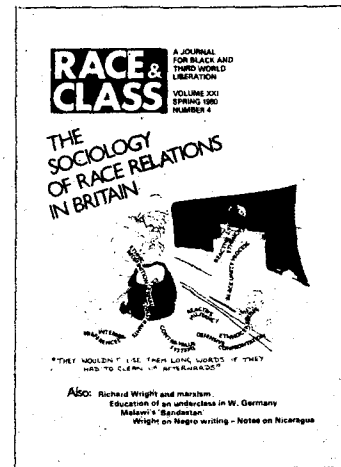
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month, and a monument to the memory of the martyrs of 1970. As one worker put it, "If we have three statues of Lenin, we could have one monument to our fallen brothers." In the ensuing negotiation, two of the three workers were hired, the monument was conceded and an increase of 1,200 zł. was offered. On the other hand, the director of the shipyard, who was assisted by the secretary of the regional party committee, declared himself incompetent to negotiate three other demands of the strikers: a return to pre-July meat prices, a free local union to replace the official one and the publication of all demands by the national media.

When Walesa entered the shipyard and urged workers to continue the strike he became the strike leader and chairman of the newly founded strike committee. The workers rejected the offer of 1,200 zł. and demanded the dissolution of the Central Confederation of Trade Unions, the abolition of "commercial" stores, and an interview with the prime minister.



The government response on Aug. 17 was conciliatory. The wage offer was increased to 1,500 zł., a new free election to the existing union local was to take place immediately, with strike leaders as admissible candidates, and a guarantee of immunity was given to the strikers and their leaders. When the offer was announced, workers received it as a victory, singing the traditional "Hundred Years" to Walesa. The strike seemed to be over.

But a representative of one of the factories that had struck in solidarity point-

with a huge government delegation, to negotiate separately with each of the enterprise strike committees. They did not recognize the Inter-Enterprise Strike Committee (MKS), as that would give it status as an independent union.

Neither the television campaign nor Pyka's mission was successful. Only 17 of 280 member committees of the MKS would talk to Pyka, and whenever an agreement seemed to be within reach, they returned to consult "at the base," thus destroying the results of negotiations. The shipyard workers said they would not be had twice by Gierek.

At this point, the situation turned into a full-fledged crisis. The government either had to recognize the MKS or use force. The Catholic church now appeared as an actor for the first time. The bishop of Gdansk, Msgr. Kaczmarek, and Cardinal Wysniski appealed to the workers for calm and moderation and, at least implicitly, for a return to work.

The turning point seems to have been Friday, Aug. 22, when the Central Committee met again in Warsaw. Conscription of the striking workers and the use of force supposedly were discussed, with a narrow majority opposed. The meeting opted once again for compromise. Four members of the Political Bureau known to be hardliners were expelled and replaced by two moderates. The prime minister, who lost his position in the Political Bureau, also departed from his government post, along with several ministers. The head of the official unions was fired. Gierek again appeared on television, but with a much more moderate tone, clearly shaken by the course of events. And immediately after the meeting, Jagielski returned to Gdansk, instructed to enter into negotiations with the MKS. On Saturday, Aug. 23, Jagielski and his team entered the shipyard for the first time and negotiations began, point by point, broadcast through loudspeakers all over the shipyard.

By the middle of the next week the Gdansk talks seemed to come to a stalemate. Although agreement apparently was reached on most points—the government simply yielding—Jagielski refused even to talk about the unions. Once again, the crisis seemed irresolvable. On Aug. 28 a strike began in a coal mine in Silesia. Strikes also spread to a steel mill in Nowa Huta and several other places. Finally, on Sunday, Aug. 31, after a last-minute stand-off concerning the liberation of KOR activists under detention, agreement was reached.

The most important point of the agreement signed in Gdansk specifies that workers now have the right to organize unions that are independent of the party and of employers, in conformity with conventions number 87 and 97 of the International Labor Organization, of which Poland is a signatory. At the same time, in creating the new unions the MKS declared that it will respect the principles of the Polish Constitution, that the unions will not play the role of a political party, and will be based on the principle of social ownership of the means of production, the base of the socialist system in Poland. The unions also must recognize that the Polish United Workers Party plays a directing role in the state and said they do not oppose the existing system of international alliances.

The government in turn promised to create the legal conditions necessary for the existence of the new unions, including the legislation enabling their registration and a new labor code. The unions will have a say in decisions concerning life conditions of workers and the partitioning of the national product into consumption and investment, the distribution of social expenditures, the principles of remuneration (in particular the indexing of salaries on the cost of living), the long-term economic plan and investment and price policy. The unions will form an independent research institute to study problems related to material conditions of workers and will publish their results.

They will also have their own publications. Finally, the right to strike will be guaranteed in the new labor code.

The agreement also relaxes censorship, which is to be limited to state secrets, matters concerning the security of the state and its international interests, and moral offenses. Censorship decisions are subject to appeal to the newly created Supreme Administrative Court. Political prisoners, three mentioned by name, are to have their convictions re-examined. The entire communiqué is to be published by the national media. An economic reform is to be introduced after an extensive public discussion.

The government also agreed to study as many as 13 specific economic demands, but without making specific commitments.

The Gdansk agreements constitute the culmination of a process started after the riots of 1976. Since at least 1977, the party leadership has reacted in the same way to growing movements for reform: it yielded under immediate pressures and tried to limit concessions to those immediately required. The leadership was highly flexible and its reactions swift and pragmatic, but they were always designed to arrest the changes, to consolidate the existing state of affairs. The dynamic of this summer's events constituted simply an acceleration of this process. Again, the party took a conciliatory position toward the strikers, in fact rewarding those workers who struck. Even in Gdansk, the leadership first conceded the limited demands, then agreed to consider far-reaching economic demands, but rejected the right to strike, then accepted all political demands with the exception of the right to organize, and finally yielded on that.

Why this posture of enlightened conservatism? It seems clear that the party leadership could not envision spontaneous social processes mounting to overwhelm the entire society. Having themselves operated for 30 years in a system in which everything was directed, orchestrated, authorized, reported and approved, they did not believe in the mobilizing potential of the people. They were convinced—against the warnings of hardliners—that the handful of noisy Warsaw intellectuals could be isolated and worn out by mild harassment and that workers could always be silenced with economic concessions. Even now they feel lost when faced with so many unplanned events. A party official asked me in a trembling voice, "But who will be responsible for the new unions? Who will direct them?"

Second, the leaders lived well. Details of abuse of political position, appropriation of public funds, and outright theft are slow to emerge, but it is clear that the people around Gierek and even the lower-level party and government apparatus that emulated the example from the top, treated the national product almost as their private property. Defense of private interests required social peace and social peace required concessions. Suppression would have required intensification of the ideological climate within the party and increased the power of the security apparatus, which might have turned against the corruption. Political reforms were in no one's interest. Increased democracy, particularly within the party, might have signified the end to privilege.

Hence, the pragmatic, conservative yet flexible posture dominated as intellectuals kept organizing and workers were being driven to the limits of their patience. And there are several indications that the party has still not learned from the summer events. The initiative continues to rest completely within the civil society.

Adam Przeworski teaches political science at the University of Chicago. He is a Polish emigre and was in Poland recently.

Next week: The rebirth of Polish civil society.



ed out that the agreement was limited to the Lenin Shipyard and other enterprises would obtain nothing. Walesa agreed and urged that a new strike be proclaimed in solidarity with the other striking workers. Most workers, estimated at 13,000, left the shipyard, but the remaining 3,000 were determined to continue. Hence, a new strike began on the 17th.

That same afternoon, an Inter-Enterprise Committee (MKS) was formed. By the next morning, 49 enterprises, with 100,000 workers, had joined. In the ensuing discussion, a member of the K.O.R. (Committee for Social Self-Defense, established after 1976 events) urged that the demand for free elections be dropped and that the list include more specific demands, such as extension of maternity leaves or the advancement of retirement age. Walesa took a moderate position, emphasizing that the demands could not preclude a way out for the government. The final list included the right to strike, the right to form free unions, relaxation of censorship, liberation of all political prisoners (of whom there eventually turned out to be three) and broadcast of a Sunday Mass by the media.

When the Central Committee met again in Warsaw, it seems to have arrived at a coherent strategy. Gierek appeared on television, admitted a need for change, recognized grounds for the labor unrest, distinguished between strikers who were "honest workers" (those who raised economic demands) and "anti-socialist elements" (who raised political demands), rejected any possibility of political concessions and urged a return to work, but did not threaten with force. A television campaign was organized to convince people that Gierek's speech had persuaded responsible workers that nothing was to be gained by striking and to provoke a middle-class backlash against the strikes. The campaign against "anti-socialist elements" was intensified and some 30 dissidents belonging to different groups were detained in Warsaw.

At the same time Gdansk was cut off from the rest of the country. Telephone communication was interrupted, road blocks were introduced, selected people traveling by train were stopped and sent back to Warsaw. The strategy with regard to the strikers consisted of sending a vice prime minister, Mr. Pyka, along

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łam Przeworski

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

PRESUMPTUOUS

IT'S PRESUMPTUOUS FOR DAVID McReynolds to describe socialists and radicals as a minority in the Citizens Party (*ITT*, Oct. 1) when the party is so new and no one, not even the members themselves, is sure of the political ideology of the majority. Still, I suppose, it is better to be a minority in a party that is at least attempting to speak intelligently to the American people than a majority in a party that seems able only to talk to itself.

The Socialist effort seems to be one part nostalgia, one part holier-than-thou revolutionary posturing, and one part moral self-righteousness. The party's one asset is McReynolds' eloquence, which seems to have deserted him for the campaign effort.

To be specific:

1. Given the history of the Socialist Party and its many factions, McReynolds' claim that his faction wears the Debsian crest rings hollow—especially since McReynolds has no labor support and the party of Debs was a labor party.

2. The McReynolds party seems more intent on maintaining ideological purity than on talking sense to the people. It's easy to call for unilateral disarmament when you know that no one but the committed are in your audience. It's this kind of absolutism, exemplified by the Socialist platform, that has created the movement ghetto that we are all so comfortable and irrelevant in.

McReynolds characterizes the Citizens Party as "another effort to reform capitalism." But on basic issues the Citizens Party is talking about basic structural change. And when McReynolds describes the Pentagon, and not the multinationals, as the source of political and economic power, I have to question the depth of his socialistic analysis. The corporate leaders (the many factions competing for power) give the marching orders. It will be David Rockefeller and his ilk who decide whether we go to war in the Persian Gulf or Central America.

3. McReynolds makes much of the fact that he has gone to jail at the Pentagon while Commoner refuses to take part in civil disobedience. As one who has been in jail with McReynolds, this is specious.

The Citizens Party's strong point is that it has made a break with the left's reflexive politics and is trying in earnest to reach people that we have habitually put off. I expect it will fail—this time around. The 5 percent expectation, I suspect, is too high. Still, the Citizens Party is breaking new ground.

—Marty Jezer

Secretary, Vermont Citizens Party

THE PRICE OF "PROGRESS"

WE WERE PLEASED TO SEE YOUR Silicon Valley article (*ITT*, Oct. 8). As the industry expands it is evident that if past practices continue, workers and communities will pay a dear price for the "information revolution."

There was a notable omission, however: IBM. IBM is noted for its tight security and employee intimidation, so getting information is difficult, even for IBM employees. IBM has a plant in San Jose, but news of chemical contamination by IBM has surfaced primarily here on the East Coast.

In Endicott, New York, birthplace of IBM, the company has had a limited impact on the community. It was considered a harmless giant, and besides, it was the largest employer. Twelve years ago the manufacturing process began to change, with more and more chemicals being used. The meaning of this to the community became evident only this year. A local reporter getting information on chemical contamination in a town across the river from Endicott found that IBM had spilled 4,100 gallons of Methyl chloroform into the ground in December 1979. Revelations that IBM had spilled chemicals into the ground or sewer six additional times between February 1977 and August 1979

followed. IBM never told the community that it was having chemical accidents; we had to find out in the papers years later.

We in the IBM Workers United distributed a community-wide leaflet repeating information from the press, but also alerting residents to the building by IBM of huge chemical tank "farms." We asked IBM what was in the tanks, what affect the chemicals have on human life in the event of fire, spill, fumes or explosion, and if there are evacuation plans. IBM gave only a partial list of chemicals and wouldn't give the effects, said there were evacuation plans for the plant but did not mention the community. Residents have written to the company with no response.

—Mark Maguire

IBM Workers United
Box 356, Johnson City, N.Y.

GETTING THE WORD

O KAY, WE'RE AT BEST A SEMILITERate society. But insensitivity to language should not build the case of the opposition by adopting unthinkingly its biased, question-begging terminology.

Prime example: "defense spending." We have not had to *defend* this country (as distinct from colonies such as Hawaii in 1941) since a couple of decades after it was founded. In your eloquent article (*ITT* Oct. 22) whose thesis precisely was that there was no need to give so much money and power to the self-styled "Defense" Department subverted its own argument by accepting a term asserting that the money was for defense. Suggestion: use "military spending," "military requirements" (for "defense needs"), etc. Except that it's niggling I'd suggest reference to the "Department of 'Defense.'"

Another example: "right-to-lifers" for people trying to outlaw abortion. Aside from the ugliness of the locution itself, it's giving them credit for a humanity most probably lack, re: life for, e.g., condemned criminals or (a few years ago) residents in "free-fire zones."

—Stanley Sultan
Boston

SUBLIMATION?

I FIND MYSELF IN EMPHATIC AGREEMENT with Richard Stone in his letter (*ITT*, Oct. 15). Your coverage on Israel issues is unbalanced and "blindly one-sided."

We are not looking for easy justification of any particular position. What we would expect from *ITT* is a continuing dialogue on key areas of disagreement—within a reasonable historical perspective.

I have just completed the book *Waiting for the Messiah* by Nora Levin, Schocken. The thing that impressed me was the fact that Jews were always expected to sublimate their national and cultural consciousness to the radical party or faction of their choice. But non-Jewish radicals were never obligated to concern themselves with the problems that Jews faced (i.e., Pogroms, the Holocaust) simply because they were Jews.

Simplistic posturing to gain favor with "third world" elements is not unknown, but it does a disservice to democratic socialist ideas, the complexities of the Near East issue and the third world themselves.

—Stanley Rosen
Chicago

THE NONPARTISAN LEAGUE

THANKS FOR YOUR "LABOR HISTORY" series. Now, to the point. Part VI, David Montgomery's "The Farmer-Labor Party's Legacy to the Socialist Left," frankly misses the boat. The success story from which the American left has much to learn was the Nonpartisan League, not the Farmer-Labor Party. Montgomery passes over an or-

ganization that actually won and then went on to implement a program of state-owned industries and to modernize a state government. The Nonpartisan League created a state-owned bank, a state-owned mill and elevator, and other institutional legacies that remain intact in 1980. The NPL, moreover, built its success on organization and struggle and it maintained itself in the face of concentrated opposition.

The NPL built on the foundation of the cooperative movement on the Northern Plains, especially the Equity Cooperative Exchange. The Equity Society, in fact, supplied the "soldiers" who won the battle for political power. Second, the NPL presented a program that promised remedies for immediate problems. Finally, the NPL mobilized its electoral army by utilizing the experience of political veterans, including those from the Socialist Party of America.

The point to be made from this is simply that the Nonpartisan League won because it was a movement for change that reflected those whom it served.

—Larry Remele
Bismarck, N.D.

HIDDEN STINGER

MEANWHILE, I OBJECT TO THE RACISM that lives in the "W/M" designation in the last "Personal" ad (*ITT*, Oct. 15). I am further nauseated by the statement in the same ad, "No mothers need apply." That's sexist, plus arrogant, anti-social and chauvinistic, and also downs children.

Remember, the personals are political.

—Bill Fishman
Los Angeles

ON AND OFF

I JUST FINISHED READING *ITT* OF OCT. 22, and feel hopeful and inspired by the variety of progressive, grassroots organizations throughout the U.S. that are discussed in this issue. I appreciate very much your reporting on the existence of such organizations, as the quickening collapse of our present economic system can be frightening and overwhelming to many of us these days.

Though *ITT* has consistently provided the international coverage I want, I had switched to subscribing to *The Progressive*. The major reason for this switch was the tone of *The Progressive*, which is generally hopeful and affirming. Many of the articles in *ITT* have tended to emphasize the barriers to significant change rather than the victories for change.

I hope that the heartening, upbeat tone of your recent issue will continue to be combined with your excellent journalism. This combination makes *ITT* such a crucial alternative source of information.

—David Stark
Cambridge, Mass.

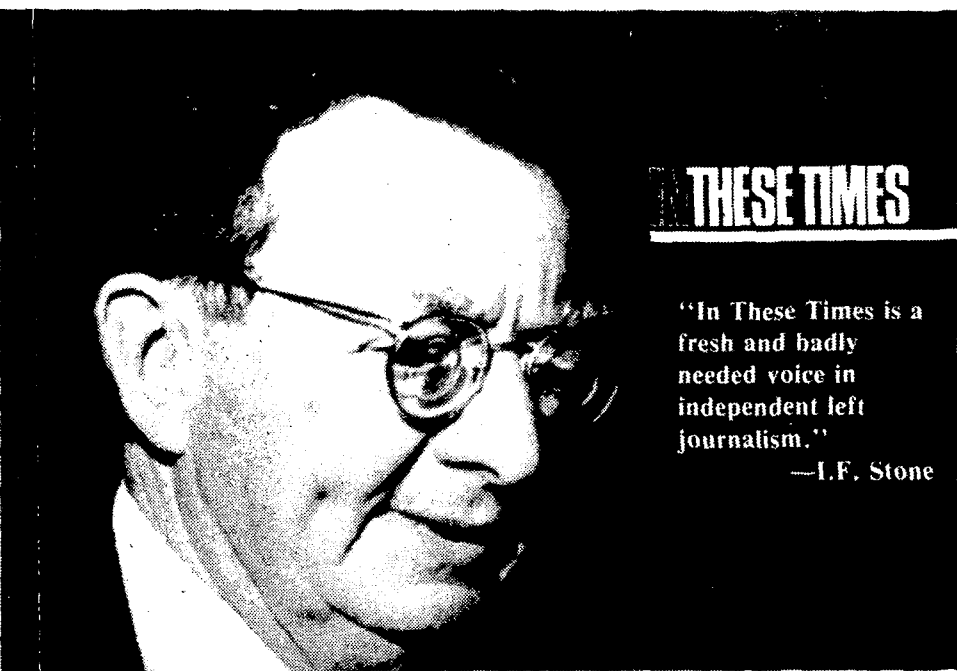
A FRIEND AMONG US

THANKS FOR THE BRIEF BUT EXCELLENT review of the memoir *The Enemy Among Us*, a story of witch-hunting in the McCarthy era (*ITT*, Sept. 24).

Frankly, we hadn't paid much attention to *In These Times* because of our preoccupation with art, teaching and ecological pursuits, but we are sufficiently impressed with the general quality of your publication that we have enclosed a subscription check.

Since publication of *The Enemy Among Us* in August, we have appeared before student audiences at the University of California, the University of Pacific, San Francisco State University and elsewhere. We will be grateful if you will pass the word that one of us could speak at midwestern or eastern campuses for just transportation and a meal or two.

—Frank & Marguerite Rowe
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PERSPECTIVES

World socialists discuss worker self-management

By Sarah Kafatou

AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON ISSUES FACING THE world left has been held in the village of Cavtat, Yugoslavia, in September every year since 1976. This fall the theme was "Participation, Self-management, Socialism." Participants from 50 countries represented political parties or academic institutions of "really existing socialism," governing parties of nonaligned states, opposition Communist and Socialist parties, national liberation movements, trade unions and independent left journals. Many of the participants were old

hands at Cavtat, while others were there for the first time. American organizations present included the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee and the journals *Socialist Review* and *Monthly Review*. Europe (East and West), North Africa, China, India and Japan accounted for most delegates. Latin America, sub-Saharan Africa and the rest of Asia were sparsely represented. Participation of women was no greater than in previous years: of 132 foreign participants only four were women, two of them from the U.S.

The role that Yugoslavia has carved out for itself as a leader of the non-aligned nations made possible the bringing together of representatives of diverse, sometimes even hostile, nations and tendencies. Discussion in the plenary sessions frequently had a ritual quality, inevitable in view of the great heterogeneity of the "anti-capitalist forces" represented. But the formal atmosphere did not prevent real warmth or real discussion and debate, although debate generally took the form of differentiated emphasis and nuance rather than direct statement.

Self-management and workers' control, issues long peripheral to mainstream socialism, have clearly gained increased legitimacy during the past decade. The overwhelming majority of conference participants limited their discussion of the possibility of self-management to societies where a socialist revolution has been accomplished or is under way. Many pointed to the risk of cooptation inherent in co-management or even worker self-management of enterprises in capitalism. Only a few thought that under some circumstances those risks might be worth taking. On the other hand, virtually everyone endorsed the idea of worker self-management within socialist society. Representatives from the Soviet bloc argued that worker self-management already exists in satisfactory form in their countries. Yugoslavs, Algerians and Chinese showed greater modesty and realism in describing their achievements. Speakers from capitalist nations tended to address the possibilities and limits of self-management on a theoretical level.

Many speakers argued that self-management is a concept that should not be limited to production, but should extend to other areas of social life. In fact, the conference quickly became an exchange of views on the nature of socialist democracy and the socialist state. At least one speaker identified the extension of self-management with the withering away of the state and its replacement by decentralized institutions of popular control. However, most speakers were not inclined to repudiate the state, even in a long-term perspective. Soviet bloc representatives tended to describe their present political arrangements as fundamentally sound and self-correcting (a Polish speaker at one point referred to the recent events in his country as a "correction"). Questioned about possi-

If the desirability of the state was reaffirmed at Cavtat, so was the importance of democratic socialist institutions. When the Soviet academician Yuri A. Krasin, provoked by Bogdan Denitch of DSO, stated that social ownership of the means of production made the Soviet Union *ipso facto* a workers' state, he was immediately challenged by several speakers, all of whom said that nationalization of the means of production, although necessary, is only a means toward socialist ends and not socialism itself. Harry Magdoff of *Monthly Review*, speaking of democracy in another context, said that central planning can be democratic, whereas market mechanisms tend to perpetuate inequality. He argued that for full democracy to exist conflicts of interest must be expressed, and people must be enabled to make collectively the major development decisions facing them. This is not presently the case, he concluded, either in centrally planned or in self-managed societies.

Everyone at Cavtat who addressed the question supported the independence of trade unions. Everyone also supported the separation of the party from the state, although only one person spoke in favor of a plurality of parties, and he limited the scope of his remarks to Chile. West-

ern Communists and Socialists were alone in adopting the term "pluralism." Even the Yugoslav economist Aleksandar Vacic remarked that the ideological connotations of the word "pluralism" make its use inappropriate in a socialist context, but that individuals and groups in socialist society do have legitimate interests that cannot simply be derived from the interest of the whole.

A democratic socialist society encourages participation on an equal basis by all of its members. Only one paper, presented to the conference by Roslyn Feldberg of Boston University, opened the question of the participation of women. Feldberg argued in her paper that as long as women remain segregated in insecure or low-status jobs and are burdened with extra responsibility at home, they cannot participate equally in self-management.

Among the themes proposed by participants for next year's conference were capitalist strategies and working-class responses; nationalism; technology and the development of the productive forces. The proceedings of this year's conference will be published in English in the Yugoslav journal *Socialism in the World*.

Sarah Kafatou is a member of the *Socialist Review* East Coast editorial collective.



Yugoslavia, which hosts the conference each year, initiated the workers' control movement among communist nations.

ble overcentralization and abuse of power, they pointed to the existence of constitutional guarantees. Western Communists and Socialists sharply criticized elitist, monolithic and bureaucratic tendencies in "really existing socialism," and argued that decentralization is not "synonymous with fragmentation"—as Bruno Trentin of the Italian CGIL put it.

Representatives of underdeveloped third world countries argued the necessities of a strong state apparatus in order to fight imperialism, institute economic planning and give ideological leadership. One speaker, Anouar Abdel Malik of Egypt, pointed out that most people living in socialist society today belong to non-Western cultures where unity is more highly valued than in the European tradition.

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ITT-802

FIAT

Continued from page 7

niti, head of CISL, was beaten with umbrellas at a worker assembly. CGIL head Luciano Lama and UIL leader Giorgio Benvenuto got off with mere verbal aggression.

All this set off an explosion of recriminations and self-criticism throughout the unions and the left. Berlinguer came under particularly heavy fire from all sides for alternately blowing hot and cold. The PCI leader who invented the "historic compromise" has had a hard time trying to steer a new course. His critics accuse him of clumsily turning his previous approach inside out, and instead of playing down worker struggles with the promise to use PCI influence to obtain government reforms, playing them up to try to regain grass-roots support and make the point that Italy is ungovernable without the PCI. Workers remain skeptical, while everyone from

Craxi on rightward accuses the PCI of destabilizing the country. (These critics ignore the PCI's genuine concern that mass dismissals may swell the ranks of terrorist organizations.)

During the years when the historic compromise was inching along to oblivion, much of the left both in and out of the PCI wanted the PCI to return to the opposition to build a real alternative coalition with the PSI. Just the opposite has happened. Craxi has turned his back on the PCI. Isolation has strengthened sectarian tendencies in the PCI itself, leading the most alarmist to fear the development of a "French syndrome" of sterile quarreling between Communists and Socialists. Divisions cut through both parties and through the major labor unions, but the present situation seems to favor the right wings of all those organizations, while the left is everywhere on the defensive.

Yet there is still far greater willingness in the working-class organizations of Italy than in France to admit mistakes and openly acknowledge that the basic causes of the current troubles lie far deeper than partisan quarrels. The real

problem is the absence of a clear coherent strategy to counter the worldwide attack on the working class being carried out in the name of restructuring. ■

Next week: Working-class culture at FIAT.

The vote

Continued from page 6

There was no one else to blame but the government itself for the stagflation of the '70s. Kennedy liberalism did not challenge this diagnosis, but seemed to ignore it.

But it is probably more plausible to blame Carter's defeat on specific failure of nerve: his failure to stare down Senate hawks over the mysterious Cuba brigade, his refusal to tell David Rockefeller where to shove the Shah and his unwillingness last spring to contemplate wage-price controls as an alternative to recession. Leon Shull, the director of Americans for Democratic Action, takes this tack in explaining the defeat of Carter

and many liberal Democrats. "It was a failure of leadership," Shull said. "They began to be for all the programs they had said were wrong."

But these individual issues were each a kernel of a larger choice. As Carter recognized in 1977, the successful use of wage-price controls requires permanent government intervention in the American economy. Nixon's wage-price controls failed just because they were temporary. But any more decisive step is more than traditional liberalism has allowed, and more than the labor-business alliance that has sustained the Democratic Party will countenance. It requires a break that Carter and many of his fellow Democrats were unwilling to make.

Similarly, the defense of SALT II and the transformation of American policy in the Persian Gulf involves a basic change in assumptions about American power: the acceptance that the U.S. will increasingly become "just another nation" and that it must plan its economy to accommodate its loss of economic empire. Again, few Democrats were willing to tread on this ground.

Reagan's fate.

But it must also be recognized that while Ronald Reagan and the conservative Republicans posed a viable political alternative to Carter and the Democrats in 1980, they don't have the policies to back up those politics. Reagan's Kemp-Roth tax cuts will no more succeed in "getting America back to work" than Carter's more modest corporate tax cuts. His program of massive arms increases will not win back the Third World or achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union. Moreover, these policies will widen the gap between rich and poor, further impoverish the middle class, and possibly plunge the U.S. into other Vietnams.

It is therefore unlikely that the Republican victory in 1980 is comparable to the Democratic victory in 1932. More likely, it is comparable to the Democratic victory in 1964. In other words, the 1980 election continues the political instability of the last 20 years in which incumbents have been assassinated, forced to resign and defeated for re-election. Barring any change in Democratic politics, we could see a "moderate" Democrat in 1984 successfully charging President Reagan with using recession to fight inflation and permitting American prestige to drop in the world.

Such a prospect is hardly reassuring, since it will occur within a voting public increasingly skewed toward the upper-middle class and within a political universe that, for lack of an alternative, has been moving inexorably to the right. The greatest danger of the 1980 landslide may be that it will put liberal Democrats so on the defensive that they will not try to define their own priorities—not seek a way to redefine liberalism for the changed conditions of American capitalism. Instead, they will content themselves with fighting 7 percent defense increases with 5 percent increases and the abrogation of the windfall profits tax on oil with its perpetuation.

Yet there is some discussion about new alternatives for the Democrats. After his defeat, George McGovern talked about forming a "new coalition for common sense" to fight the New Right. ADA's Shull and Stephen Schlossberg of the United Auto Workers also express the need for some new coalition effort on the Democratic left. Heather Booth, the director of the Citizens Labor Energy Coalition, goes farther than this. She calls for a "political reorganization" of the major institutions within the Democratic left. Booth wants to link the unions with statewide citizens organizations in a long-term strategy for winning electoral power that would include running primary candidates, targeting opponents, and training campaign staff.

Such an alternative, modeled somewhat on the New Right, is essential if Democratic liberals do not want to drop out of politics altogether. The rise in Republican fortunes, from utter devastation in 1964 to a landslide in 1980, is itself evidence that this kind of approach, which must be long-term, ideological and focused on winning a local base, can succeed. ■

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SOUTH AFRICA



Intense labor exploitation has fostered an economic crisis in southern Africa.

Investment in misery

Outposts of Monopoly Capitalism: Southern Africa in the Changing Global Economy
By Ann Seidman and Neva Seidman Makgetla
Lawrence Hill, 370 pp., \$8.95

By David R. Roediger

Occasionally oppressors mask their actions with terminology so inappropriate and bitterly ironic as to be humorless: The "pacification" of villages in Vietnam, the "Americanism" of the Klan, the "relocation" of native Americans. South Africa's recent past affords an equally obscene example. The amoral and opportunistic document championed by transnational corporations wishing to justify their continued investment in the apartheid regime is called, after its author, the Sullivan Principles. Those who wish to discover how utterly unprincipled such investment has been, and continues to be, are directed to this timely and challenging book.

Outposts of Monopoly Capitalism is the sequel to the same authors' *South Africa and U.S. Multinational Corporations* (Lawrence Hill, 1977), by now a central sourcebook for the anti-apartheid movement. In their original volume Seidman and Makgetla muckraked diligently, producing a detailed indictment of American corporate support for the white minority government. Here they cast a wider net. Not only does *Outposts* discuss transnational corporations based throughout the West, but it also places the African investments of those corporations in a historical context and suggests alternative development strategies.

Penetration.

The first and briefest of the book's sections argues that after WWII corporations in the developed capitalist world confronted each other in an increasingly sharp struggle for profits, in part because research, development and technology came to consume more of overall costs of production. This necessitated larger and larger capital expenditures and gave more power to

the biggest banks, whose resources could finance such huge outlays of capital.

The authors view the rise of transnational investment in the Third World as an outgrowth of the corporate contest for profits and especially for mineral wealth. They further hold that both banks and corporations came to channel investments to "stable" areas of the decolonized world. In a few instances, such as Brazil and prerevolutionary Iran, favored nations experienced an uneven but real development and emerged as halfway houses between the capitalist core and the underdeveloped periphery. South Africa, according to Seidman and Makgetla, is best understood as such an industrializing nation whose size, mineral wealth, receptive parastatal corporations and repressive military-political sys-

tem combined to offer a favorable setting for transnational corporate penetration.

This short interpretive section is not entirely convincing. The thesis that the last three decades have been ones of structural crisis in the capitalist world is asserted rather than proven and is not balanced against other interpretations of the post-war economy such as the more sanguine assessments of Ernest Mandel. Moreover the comparison with Brazil and other "regional sub-centers" obscures the racial dynamics in South Africa and downplays the significant development which had taken place in South Africa before 1945. Better analogies might be drawn with Israel, likewise a colonial settler state and likewise a state whose economy has developed both through the efforts of its indigenous

bourgeoisie and through ties with transnational capital.

The meaty second section of *Outposts* details the motivations and impact of corporations investing in South Africa. Major attention goes to the policies of the Nationalist government that made South Africa a haven for investment. Throughout the early post-war years, the transnationals and the white minority regime engaged in mutually rewarding interplay. The government gained prosperity for its white constituency, sophisticated technology and military equipment for its repressive branches and access to fossil fuels. The corporations reaped profits, not only from diamonds, gold and agricultural commodities, but also from the marketing of new technology and military hardware to South Africa. Compared with the tumultuous and often socialist-inclined nations on the remainder of the African continent, South Africa presented a picture of seeming protection against nationalization and successful labor protest. The same transnationals who speculated only in the extractive industries of other African countries, therefore helped to build a diversified economy on the continent's southern tip.

By the mid-'70s, the political economy of South Africa suffered several body blows. According to the authors, the crisis of recession and unemployment that appeared during these years derived in large part from the intensity of the exploitation of labor. Because wages for the un-

skilled have fallen short of subsistence levels, the nation's home market for manufactured goods has remained limited to the tiny white population. Internal and external opposition to the apartheid regime has risen dramatically. Since Soweto, successes of the South West African People's Organization in Namibia and the end of white rule in Zimbabwe, South Africa no longer appears as the ideal spot for investment.

According to *Outposts*, only a tremendous rise in world gold prices and the willingness of several giant transnationals to buoy the government have kept the regime precariously afloat.

In their third and concluding section, Seidman and Makgetla focus on what these contradictions in South African society might mean for the future development of the whole of Southern Africa. They argue, optimistically but not implausibly, that cooperation among the frontline states aiding the liberation movement in South Africa could lead to the development of an "integrated regional development" strategy in which the various governments experiment with democratic control over their economies while uniting to achieve economic balance and diversification.

If such cooperation does occur, the area promises to be far more than a "regional sub-center." Both before and after the triumph of the freedom fighters in South Africa, the region can be an example of the moral and economic power of Pan-Africanism and socialism. ■

Black commuters travel third class.



BLACK HISTORY

Black intellectuals and Liberian scandal

Black Scandal: America and the Liberian Labor Crisis, 1929-1936
By I.K. Sundiata
Institute for the Study of Human Issues, P.O. Box 2367, Philadelphia, PA 19103
230 pp., \$15

By Phyllis Boanes

When a junior officers' coup overthrew the government of William Tolbert last April, observers of Liberian politics were surprised. Since the late '30s successive regimes had cultivated the image of a peaceful, stable state and a haven for foreign investment. Over the last few years that carefully-crafted facade had crumbled somewhat in the face of increased economic stagnation, political repression and chronic shortages.

In April 1979 some 50 people died and over 600 suffered wounds in food riots in Monrovia. More recently, Tolbert had cracked down on opposition leaders such as Gabriel

Descendants of U.S. slaves were exporting near-slave labor in the 1930s.

Mathews of the broad-based Progressive Peoples Party. But despite such events, it appeared that Tolbert might weather the storm when the junior officers of the army suddenly toppled his government.

The character of the coup harkens back to old and deep antagonisms in Liberian society. Since its inception in 1849, Liberia has contained two worlds—that of the Americo-Liberian settlers, descendants of former American slaves, and that of the

indigenous Africans. As in other parts of the continent, political and economic power had been long concentrated in the hands of the settler group. Over the years there had been cosmetic changes—some Africans had been given greater access to higher education or public office—but nothing had challenged the fundamental dominance of the settler group. This ethnic dimension, in proper balance with the neocolonial exploitation of the people and the country, underlies Liberian history.

DuBois' caliber, have overemphasized one aspect of the situation to the neglect of the others. *Black Scandal* strikes a happy balance. Focusing on the forced labor controversy that erupted between 1928 and 1936, Sundiata explores both ethnic and class contradictions and places these struggles within the larger context of Liberia's role in the international economy and the Afro-American community.

Black Scandal is actually two books. One is concerned with Liberia proper, the other with the reaction by those of the African Diaspora (primarily in the U.S.) to Liberia's involvement in forced labor. The first book is informative if somewhat limited. The second is considerably more intriguing.

Black Scandal begins with a brief outline of events leading up to the disclosure that certain prominent Liberian citizens, some well placed in the government, were exporting labor to the plantations on Spanish Fernando Po and French Gabon and that this labor was secured and exploited under conditions that were not much different from slavery. Much of this story is well known, told by those contemporary to it and by historians. Sundiata makes his contribution by reconstructing the diplomatic intrigues that precipitated and accompanied the scandal. Especially interesting is his use of

Continued on page 19

ART & ENTERTAINMENT

Lionel Delevigne/Picture Group



MURALS

The public is a tough audience to please

By Laura Holland

The Hestia Art Collective, a group of professional women artists in western Massachusetts, first banded together in 1978 to define a political focus for their work and to create public art. They settled on the idea of a mural depicting local women's history from 1600 to the present, on an outdoor site in Northampton.

Their recently completed mural spreads across a 27-by-135-foot expanse of brick and stucco on the New England Telephone Company's building on Masonic Street in downtown Northampton. The mural's images sweep, left to right, from a representation of the arts, with 19th-century artist Suzanne La-

throp next to the Hestia members' portrayal of themselves, to political activities, with abolitionist Sojourner Truth linked to latter-day women in the suffrage movement, a pro-ERA demonstration, and a Take Back the Night march.

The images in the mural emphasize the positive, even decorative, aspects of women's endeavors. Women working in a factory, for instance, are depicted as pleasingly patterned figures rather than oppressed workers. The style of the mural—a simplified representational style akin to American folk art—was designed to be "readable, acceptable and accessible," as one member explains, to a broad audience of downtown shoppers and strollers. Before granting its

approval, the telephone company carefully stipulated that no images of "nudity, abortion or death by hanging" could adorn the wall. The Northampton zoning board also imposed conditions on the artists.

The diverse ethnic communities and cultural cross-currents contained in the small western Massachusetts city became a rich source of material and a tough audience to please.

While some local feminists feel the mural lacks adequate representation of the large radical-lesbian community in the area, washrooms in some local bars sport slogans such as "Dykes off the streets and on the wall." Several public school teachers eagerly plan to use the mural "like a textbook," as one

teacher puts it. But one local artist complains, "The images are laid out in such a linear way—plunk, plunk, plunk—like some panorama in a child's textbook."

"Ah well," shrugs one disappointed observer, "it's a nice painting of nice people doing nice things."

"Never mind what the final piece looks like," exclaims another, "I'm impressed that after working closely together for two years they're still talking to each other."

And to yet another community member, the mural is an unqualified success. "It's an important public tribute to women's history," she explains. ■ *Laura Holland is a free-lance writer in Amherst, Mass.*



Sojourner Truth

Lionel Delevigne/Picture Group

REGULATION

Community TV hope flickers

By Dia L. Michels

Sears has long established itself as part of the American Dream through wide distribution of its catalog. Now the company's hope of occupying center screen in our lives is well on the way to becoming a reality. Sears need never be further from the American family than the nearest television set.

No, not just as a major advertiser, but as the owner, operator and content designer of a national TV network. If the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) adopts its proposed rules, we'll see some new faces along with familiar TV personalities.

The issue at hand involves the creation of Low Power Television (LPTV). Low Power stations can operate anywhere technically feasible on the TV broadcast band (channels 2-69), covering an area of 12-15 miles. Used alone, these stations are perfect for local programming. Linked together by satellite microwaves, networks can be formed from any regional, ideological or ethnic combination.

Translator TV stations, which will be adapted to be Low Power stations, are now used nationwide to amplify and retransmit existing signals to areas out of the reach of normal broadcast transmission, either from distance or terrain. The proposal lifts the

restrictions on these translators, leaving them with almost no limitations on ownership, programming, format, content or source of revenue. They will be able to rebroadcast someone else's signals as well as create their own, with operating costs derived from advertiser support, subscription services or co-op ownership.

New options.

By dropping the requirements for studio facilities and simplifying the Fairness Doctrine, the FCC hopes to encourage grassroots participation and ownership. For the first time, citizen groups, for relatively little money (\$30,000-\$150,000) could control what goes over the airwaves. The possibilities are impressive. Imagine an Indian network of stations throughout the U.S. with all shows designed by Indians and produced in their native languages. Picture an Eskimo network and an arts/poetry/music station. There could be a station for educational programs and one for politicians to talk to their constituencies.

One group of black lawyers, starting a company called Community Television Network, is awaiting decision on applications for 10 stations. They have already made arrangements with Golden West Broadcasters to have GWN supply and maintain studio facilities and equipment in exchange for a few

hours of prime time for subscription services. Arrangements of this type not only combine alternative and conventional television, but also provide a financial base for minority groups to operate.

But as part of the FCC's rush to deregulate, they are accepting interim applications. Because date of completed application is considered in station allocation, and because available frequencies in the choice markets are scarce, the acceptance of inter-

im applications is like handing an open invitation to those groups with the greatest organization and resources—namely, the large corporations.

In fact, Sears has already submitted applications for 98 stations to establish a country and western network all across America. It has indicated that it intends to supply most of the advertising itself, the rest to come from other national sponsors. There are no programming restrictions, so we have no indication how much of broadcast time will be used for commercials. Other applications awaiting processing include those with proposals for nothing more than rebroadcast of existing signals. How many times

can we watch *I Love Lucy*?

The creation of corporate networks could limit choice in the programming over our airwaves. The idea of neighborhood TV and diversification is contradictory to the FCC's free-market strategy, which allows these corporations to buy up an abundance of available frequencies.

Citizen groups can generate enough pressure to shape the formation of Low Power Television, both through rule challenges and their own applications to buy stations. The opportunity for genuine media reform has come, but it will require quick and decisive action. ■

Dia Michels is on the staff of the Center for the Study of Responsive Law in Washington, D.C.

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November 15

Fight Back. Stop the Rate Hike Rally. Come out and show what you're willing to do to stop Commonwealth Edison, the nation's #1 nuclear utility from getting a 19.7% rate increase for nuclear construction. At the Federal Plaza (Dearborn and Adams) at noon. The rally will be followed by

mass neighborhood canvassing. Call Citizens Against Nuclear Power at (312) 786-9041 or Dave Kraft at 761-0975 (evenings).

NATIONWIDE

November 15 & 17

"Free Voice of Labor—the Jewish Anarchists," a film about the Yiddish anarchists and the role they played in building the clothing trades unions, will be shown on PBS on or about Nov. 17 (check local stations for details), except in New York where it will be shown on Nov. 15 at 8:00 p.m. For more information call: Pacific Street Films at (212) 875-9722.

NEW YORK, N.Y.

November 16

There will be a discussion by E.P. Thompson on European Nuclear Disarmament (E.N.D.) at 12:30 p.m. at the Riverside Church,

120th Street and Claremont Avenue. Sponsored by MARHO and the Riverside Church Disarmament Program.

November 18

Michael Harrington will speak on "After the Elections: Future Directions for the Democratic Left" at 8:00 p.m. at the Catholic Student Center of NYU, Washington Square South. Donation is \$2.00. Sponsored by NYC DSOC.

November 24

Fighting those post-election blues? Come to a forum sponsored by NYC NAM and DSOC chapters. Speakers: Jim Chapin, DSOC National Director and Cynthia Ward, coordinator Democratic Agenda; for NAM, Alan Charney, NYC Citizens Party co-chair and Katherine Kennedy, Citizens Party National Executive Committee. Monday, 7:30 p.m., at 125 West 72nd Street.

Liberia

Continued from page 17

State Department documents, which put to rest any speculation about the motives of the U.S. government vis-a-vis Liberia.

It is clear that the U.S. knew about and condoned the export of African labor out of Liberia since the beginning of the '20s. This arrangement might have continued for many years had it not run afoul of the competing labor demands of American business in Liberia. The most important American interest in Liberia, Firestone Company, had earlier coerced the Liberians into leasing large tracts of land for rubber plantations, making its investment conditional on acceptance of a substantial loan by Liberia. Ostensibly designed to assist Liberia in developing a transportation infrastructure, the loan served as Firestone's stranglehold on the black government.

With the problems of land and political power solved, Firestone turned to the question of cheap and plentiful labor. Sudiata's evidence suggests that the meth-

ods of conscription and the conditions of labor on the Firestone plantations were similar to those of the cocoa plantations of Fernando Po. During this period neither the U.S. nor Firestone voiced any moral outrage about "native" labor.

Only when the American company found its labor needs in conflict with the continuing export of Africans did Firestone appeal to the U.S. to intercede. Soon the Liberians had to contend not only with Americans but with the League of Nations and the possible loss of sovereignty. Sudiata handles the diplomatic controversies with skill and an eye for the ridiculous.

Black reaction.

The second part of *Black Scandal* is the more provocative. On one level it is a fairly straightforward account of the international Afro-American community's reaction to the charge of slavery in Liberia. On other levels it is an enlightening study of the varieties of Pan Africanism and the peculiarities of segments of the black left in the '30s.

Especially interesting are the reactions of the "Big Four"—W.E.B. DuBois, George Padmore, George Schuyler and Marcus Garvey—to the crisis. Gar-

vey, whose race-consciousness is storied, forged a class-conscious criticism of the Americo-Liberians as exploiters of native labor. Despite his socialism (he ended his days in the Communist Party) and a concern for the masses in Africa, DuBois made an almost uncritical defense of Liberia. Generally ignoring the forced labor claims, he charged the U.S. and Firestone with imperialist aggression. DuBois' primary concern was saving Liberia, and hence the entire race, from what he saw as racist censure. On the other hand, George Schuyler, then a columnist for a progressive black newspaper, the *Pittsburgh Courier* (he later wrote tracts for the John Birch Society), pointed out the irony in descendants of American slaves engaging in a form of neo-slavery.

Padmore separated from his colleagues at the *Negro Worker* over the scandal. Padmore's stance on Liberia portended his final break with the international Communist movement. The reasons for the position taken by DuBois and especially by the then-Communist Padmore, are not enough explored here. Sudiata assumes that both men simply identified race as the primary factor in the crisis. It

would be useful to learn something further of the debate that must have gone on in the black left, especially among men such as James Ford, Cyril Briggs, C.L.R. James and Padmore. Similarly, fuller treatment of the reaction of ordinary Afro-Americans to the Liberian crisis would have produced a stronger book.

The Liberian crisis revealed important divisions among black intellectuals. Men such as

Thomas Faulkner and Ernest Lyon opposed intervention in Liberian affairs because it might mean a curbing of the opportunities for economic gain. This group of "economic Pan-Africanists" is an intriguing breed that receives its first systematic treatment in Sudiata's engaging and substantial book.

Phyllis Boanes is a Social Science Research Council fellow whose current research is on the social history of the family in Ghana.

CULTURE SHOCK

SIDE EFFECTS

There is a population boom in yellow-jacket bees, reports the *Village Voice*. The apparent reason is the burgeoning of fast-food joints; bees too are junk food junkies.

HO HO HO

U.S. District Judge John Kane was caught out by the Colorado state chapter of NOW saying to a group of correc-

tions officials that he likes to try a "garden-variety rape case" because "it keeps you awake in the afternoon and

provides a little vicarious pleasure." Thanks to reader Margie Carter for passing along the news.



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The Tellers' Rebellion

What were eight godfearing women in smalltown Minnesota doing on a picket line?

"WE'RE NOT ALL equal, you know." Those six words were the shot that opened an unlikely two-year battle. Eight women had worked as bank tellers and clerks

in Willmar, Minn., for years. When they were passed over for management positions—and asked to train the man who was chosen for one of those slots—they protested. And when the bank president told one of them straight out, "We're not all equal, you know," they went on strike.

A surprising action in any case. But in Willmar it was close to apocalyptic. This is a small rural community where no blacks or Jews have been sighted in living memory, where nearly everyone is Scandinavian-blond, where absolutely everyone goes to church, where "traditional values" (including the submissiveness of wives) are alive and well.

These were not outside agitators. They were local mothers and wives and widows and daughters, who decided that they would rather risk challenging an entire way of life than continue to live and work like second-class citizens.

The story caught media attention, and for a short while Willmar and the eight strikers who picketed right through two winters' worth of 70-below-zero weather and snowstorms were in the news. It also caught the attention of Mary Beth Yarrow, who had grown up in Willmar and later married Peter Yarrow (of Peter, Paul and Mary). She told the story to her friend, actress Lee Grant, who was so moved by it she wanted to make a film. "I identified with them," Grant said to *In These Times*. "I had been very involved with struggles within my own union, AFTRA, in an earlier period."

Grant and co-producer Julie Thompson, with backing from Peter Yarrow's corporation and with Judy Irola (who shot *Northern Lights*) on camera, visited Willmar during the strike and after its resolution. The result is a well-executed, 55-minute color documentary, *Willmar 8*.

The film captures the transformation of these women into their own people. As the strikes wore on, the women came to depend on each other's support in a way they had never known.

They learned about women's issues. "I thought feminism was all 'women's libber' when this started," says a young woman, now divorced, who became one of the strike leaders. "I didn't know what a feminist was till I looked it up in the dictionary," says the middle-aged mother of three.

They learned about union issues, both when UAW and AFL-CIO supporters marched down the main street of Willmar for them and when they couldn't affiliate with a union because they were such a small group. And they learned, of course, about harassment. The chairman of the bank board, one recalls, called them just about the worst thing you can imagine in Willmar—"a bunch of Christian lesbians."

The community these women come out of is rarely seen on the big or small screen, although it is often caricatured. This is the real "Our Town," where all is not well. The film shows us that other America through interviews not only with strikers but with other townfolk. Contrasts between them offer vivid testimony on the women's choices, and their transformation.

While the eight women at strike headquarters try to share meager strike funds to best meet each person's needs, another group of women is interviewed at a ladies-night game of poker. "We don't like to get into controversial subjects," asserts a poker player who is a friend—like most people in town, one way or another—of the bank president. But even this general statement causes dissension in the small group. Still, by and large, the players agree—women should stay home. Yet two old ladies stop their car in front of the picketed bank to staunchly defend unions.

But most people steadfastly refuse to express an opinion. "No comment," one says and others at a restaurant table

chorus "no comment" in relief. Person after person looks at the film crew the way one contemplates a dead mouse on the kitchen floor. It doesn't take long before a wall of silence and distance demonstrates what it meant for those women to even have an opinion, much less act on it.

They gained a sense of dignity, an understanding of the power of unity and the necessity of support. They won the long-lasting gains of any workers' organizing struggle. They came to see themselves not only as independent individuals but as part of a social group that could act.

What they lost, however—thanks to an unfavorable NLRB ruling—was the strike. They were not rehired, except for one woman who returned to lower pay and status, and they were not compensated. A TV newsman who showed up to photograph their reactions to the ruling said that he did not film them, out of respect for the intensity of their emotions.

"I'd like people to understand we're not superhuman," one striker says to the film crew, "but we have each other."

"I went to work at another bank," says another, "and conditions there were better than they had been before we went on strike. Did we lose? We've already won."

WILLMAR 8 COMES ON the scene as the theatrical market for independent film is maturing, and it has already received an enthusiastic reception. In San Francisco it opened on a double

bill with *Rosie the Riveter* (*In These Times*, Oct. 15) and sold out for both nights of a benefit for local Working Women affiliates.

For working women's organizations the film marks a coming of age. "The film shows that conflicts in the office are at the point of becoming a movement," Kar-

en Nussbaum of Cleveland Working Women said. "When it reaches a place like Willmar, when women from that background transform their lives in order to solve problems like this, it's not just a big-city issue. It's fundamental."

Working Women wants to buy a print for training use, said Nussbaum, because the film "shows the special courage of these women but still shows them as ordinary people, so other activists can both see their own reflection and be challenged."

The film's distributor, California Newsreel, is also concerned with non-theatrical use of the film. The staff is presently working on a curriculum for women's re-entry programs in which the film would be used. "It shows how much women can change," Larry Adelman of Newsreel said, "and also what they can expect in terms of job issues." They are also designing programs for church use. The importance of religion in Willmar—a key fact that the film, to its credit, never gets far away from—makes it particularly appropriate for churches. Government agencies concerned with affirmative action are also considering the film.

It has been less eagerly pursued by labor unions. After all, the story is about a strike—not the first thing an organizer wants to emphasize to a prospective member; worse, it's about a defeat and, worse still, about an unviable, isolated local. But that, according to Jackie Kienzie of the AFL-CIO education department, who organized a screening for trade union leaders, is not the problem.

"The film is beautiful, and everyone who saw it was moved. But given our budget problems, we need training films for people who are already union members. This is a film for a broader public. We'll rent it, of course, for occasional use—and I hope we'll see it on TV."

Ironically, the biggest institutional demand for the film so far has come from banks, which use it in training sessions for managers. That too is testimony to the veracity of the film, which, by letting the women tell their own story, has captured how much change can occur from six little words.

To rent (\$75) or buy (\$700) the film, contact California Newsreel, 630 Natoma, San Francisco, CA 94103, (415) 621-6196.

